THE
OLD TESTAMENT
SPEAKS

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* * *

By

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FOREWORD

The purpose of this volume is to direct the student through the Bible; to throw light on the Bible; to arouse interest in the Bible, and to stimulate and guide a program of study and research.

A text book for Old Testament study can be significant only as it provides new materials or methods. To wait until all the data are in, or even until present archaeological finds are adequately interpreted, would postpone the task indefinitely. No text can be complete or infallible, but it can gather in and coordinate enough material to point a direction and open up new fields of thought.

Decidedly there will be no attempt to re-tell the whole Bible story. Neither will there be an effort to give full discussion of every important item. In line with the purpose, the reader will be directed to the Old Testament, there to read the source material itself. Suggested research will give the reward of increased knowledge. It is absolutely essential that this volume be intimately coordinated with the Old Testament and with such collateral sources as can be made available.

From this study should emerge a working continuity of Hebrew history, an appreciation of Hebraic literature, a proper concept of Israel's religion, a personal acquaintance with prophets and sages, and a clearer understanding of specific Old Testament books.

Ideally, a study of the Old Testament should lead the student to the mountain peaks of great religious experience where, thinking it over in the presence of noble men of God or in company with noble books, he too should share the glory of life that has come close to God.

It would be highly desirable for the student, teacher, or general reader to have available such helps as:

A good text in Biblical Archaeology, e.g. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible.*

A comprehensive geography of Palestine, e.g. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

A Near-East history, e.g. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria.*

A one-volume Bible dictionary, encyclopedia, or commentary, e.g. Hastings or Peake.

For a small working library the following could be added:

Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible.*
Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History.*
Kent, *Biblical Geography and History.*
Kent, *Students Old Testament,* 6 vols.
Lods, *Israel.*
Oesterley and Robinson, *A History of Israel,* 2 vols.
Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament.*
Bulletins of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

The author wishes to call attention to the loyal friends and loved ones to whom this volume is affectionately dedicated. In addition, he is deeply grateful to those who have assisted in routine tasks,—Miss Irma Heath for long hours at the typist's desk; the Misses Dorothy Calkins and Margaret Thomas for added assistance; and especially to Dr. Robert Seneca Smith for patient editing and helpful suggestions.

C. S. K.

Los Angeles, Calif.
May 18, 1933

TO SEVEN

Four who opened doors
JOHN GODFREY HILL
CHARLES FOSTER KENT
LUTHER ALLAN WEIGLE
RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY
Two who smoothed pathways
MY FATHER AND MOTHER
And one who bore the burden
MY WIFE

TO THE TEACHER

The project pages accompanying each chapter are not to be used slavishly or mechanically. Instructors may organize progressive study by following the suggestions given, and work may vary from a mere reading of the book to a complete program of graduate study utilizing the major portion of the *Instructions* and *For Further Study* sections. Great elasticity is possible and presupposed.

Each instructor will select and adapt according to circumstances. The more elementary portions will assist the beginner or casual reader to find his way into the subject of biblical literature and history. The projects sweep far beyond this range, if desired.

The *Thinking It Over* section is to be used advisedly to guide the pondering and questioning that so often accompanies biblical or religious discussion.

Arabic numerals indicate elementary items; letters, the more advanced. Volumes are indicated by initials. Consult the Appendix for full titles and abbreviations. The references are but introductory, and the topics can be followed up in additional volumes, using indexes and tables of contents.

The various divisions do not mark lesson assignments, but simply indicate logical breaks in the material.

CHAPTER I

INSTRUCTIONS

1. If you have not read the foreword, do so, to understand the purpose and plan of study.
2. Before reading this section, write down your own definition of "Bible" and "Old Testament." (Bewer, LOT, Introd.; Booth, BB, Introd., pp. 37, 51; Dinsmore, EBL, II, IV; Eiselen and Barclay, WB, I-V; Kent, GCOT, I; Moehlman, UB, I; Penniman, BEB, I-III; Van Pelt, ISB, I-VI; Wild, LGB, pp. 1-27.)
3. Now read the section, observing every footnote carefully and looking up any biblical references as you read, and write down some of the new ideas about the Bible that this suggests to you.
4. In the list of BOOKS THAT HELP, check those available to you in public or private libraries.
5. Secure definitions for any unfamiliar words; look up proper names as they occur. (Barton, AB, XXVIII and index; Childe, MAE, p. 226; Godbey, LTM, index; Hall, AHNE, V; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 256, 327, 388, 399; Speiser, MO, II, VI, pp. 60 and 176 footnote; Oxford Helps, index and pp. 2-3; biblical dictionaries; encyclopedias; commentaries.)

a. Consider how you have been using the Old Testament, if at all.

b. Start an archaeological map of Palestine. Identify important sites referred to in this section. Add material as study progresses.

c. Combine a modern map with modern names and a biblical map with the ancient names. (On *b* and *c* use an atlas; biblical maps; Albright, APB, index; Booth, BB, I; Condensed Biblical Encyclopedia, index and maps; Macalister, CEP, I; Olmstead, HPS, maps, XXXI; Hall, AHNE, pp. 172, 236, 422; Smith, S., EHA, p. 2.)

* * * * *

d. Observe the names and faith of some of the men who carefully examined the make-up of the Bible. (Bratton, in Jl. Bib. Lit., L, Pt. III, pp. 176 ff.; Eiselen, BP, III; Jewish Q'ly. Rev., XIII, pp. 345 ff.; Reinach, O, VII; Trattner, UBB, I-V, and p. 315 bibliog.; Westcott, HRTW, pp. 246, 250, and index.)

c. Consider some of the problems that aroused their interest. (Bewer, LOT, XXIII; Church, IS, 107 ff.; Duncan, IBA, XX; Eiselen, BP, I Knudson, RTOT, Introd. and I.)

f. Write down some of the beliefs destroyed and some created by the critical study of the Bible. (Booth, BB, Introd. and pp. 21-32, 92-93; Driver, ILOT, Introd.; Moehlman, UB, II; Smith, H. P., OTH, p. 50 note; Wild, EHP, Introd.)

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS THE BIBLE?

A Literature.—The Bible is first of all a literature. It is not a single book, but sixty-six selected bits of writing now bound in one cover.[1] Its production extended over many centuries. The works were collected, edited, supplemented, and certain ones became so woven into the life and aspirations of the people that councils of rabbis[2] and later Christians[3] placed official approval upon the valued treatises, thus forming what is called a canon, a "measured" list of sacred writings.[4]

An Experience.—"Properly speaking, persons, not books, are inspired."[5] The Bible begins in experience. God writes on the hearts of men long before they write on parchment. Men do and think, and later it is told. The authors did not sit down with a preliminary "go to, I shall now write a bit of scripture." They little dreamed that the in-breathing (*inspiratio*) of the eternal Spirit in their minds, stirring them to great deeds or great words, would some day be interpreted as verbatim stenography, with sincere but misguided men quarreling over the mechanical "inspiration" of spots of ink on the manuscript. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and 17th century English have had their vogue as sacred, authoritative, inspired tongues. Every new translation of the Bible has had opposition. Fortunately, religion is an experience.

---

[1] For books that did not get into the Bible see: Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament;* Goodspeed, *Strange New Gospels;* Booth, *The Bridge Between the Testaments.*

[2] Notably the Councils of Jamnia, 90 A.D. and 118 A.D., at which rabbi Gamaliel II and rabbi Akiba were the leaders.

[3] Laodicea, 360 A.D.; third Council of Carthage 397 A.D.; and the Council of Trent 1546 A.D.

[4] From the Greek word, *kanon,* meaning "a measuring line."

[5] Dinsmore, *The English Bible As Literature,* p. 14.

A Notebook.—In simplest terms, the Bible is a magnificent series of notes on the business of living. It is a laboratory manual. The perennial freshman enters the laboratory. Text and teacher instruct him in performing his experiment. But curiosity or bumptiousness wins the day, and in an unguarded moment the experimenter tries to do it another way. He adds another chemical to see what will happen,—and it happens! No formal report is necessary. The record is already there in the sprawling stain on his notebook.

The Bible is a laboratory notebook on some of the most intensive experimentation in history. It is evident that the writer of the 23d Psalm had performed a beautiful experiment and recorded a great discovery. But men tampered with life, with God's eternal verities. Their experiments exploded. Told and retold, they finally precipitated in a literary fragment. Some of the grim, revolting sections of the Bible are "but frank statements of blackest sin—daring experiments violating all the laws of social decency. The record makes sorry reading, but we can profit by the results."

"David's experiment in friendship with Jonathan is beautiful; his experiment in stealing another man's wife starts evil which eventually leads to 'the waters of Babylon.' Jezebel experiments with despotism; Habakkuk with doubt; Judas with treachery; Paul with faith. In blood and holy fire the record is written. It has become an adequate revelation of the eternal order—of God."[6]

WHAT IS THE OLD TESTAMENT?

A Literature.—The Old Testament, as a section of the Bible, is also primarily a literature. It is the literary deposit of a culture. That culture was Semitic, oriental, ancient, and religious. Like all literary deposits it grew out of a history, it embodied a whole thought world, it crystallized a spirit, and now serves to pass in review the pageant of a people and an epoch.

---

[6] Knopf, C. S., *Bible Youth in Modern Times*, p. 10.

Understanding a Literature.—To understand any literature it is necessary to reconstruct its background. The actors must move in a stage setting of contemporaneity. The events must fit into a mosaic of interaction that includes social, economic, religious, and political factors of the day. The ideas must grow out of the intellectual struggle of great minds grappling with problems that may begin with a local situation and eventually sweep the universe.

Contemporary Records.—Such a background may be derived from three sources. One would be contemporary records or fragments. There are records that make it easy to understand why certain English poets wrote, and otherwise obscure references to political or doctrinal disputes become intelligible.[7] The Latin and Greek classics supplement each other and in turn have extra-classical illuminants. A section in Herodotus; a reference in Tacitus; a page from Josephus; a bit of papyrus from Elephantine, or Oxyrynchus; a roster of conquered towns; a tabulation of tribute; these and numerous like references in records that were made during the formative period of the Bible serve to stabilize, supplement and sometimes amend the narrative or our concepts of the times. Each record must be critically examined, for scribes notoriously colored their writings according to their own national interests. Contemporary records and Hebrew literature must be coordinated so that out of a multiplicity of variant witnesses the student jury can build up the factual situation.

Archaeological Finds.—A second and probably more important source is archaeology. The fitting together of evidence from significant fragments permits a reading of archaeological data with a certainty that approaches a log book. Obviously, there are conflicting theories and many blank spaces in the record, but the studies of ruins, tombs, artifacts, architecture, pottery, and culture levels, to say nothing of numerous inscriptions with their direct evidence, have recreated entire acts in the drama of history that leave less to guess-work, and make possible a more accurate setting for a great literature. A Stele of Merneptah,[8] a letter at Amarna,[9] an obelisk of Shalmaneser,[10] a temple ruin at Tell En-Nasbeh,[11] a scarab at Megiddo,[12] an ostrakon at Samaria,[13]—these do not "prove the Bible" but they do enable the student to enter into the pulsating life of a world that created the literature of the Old Testament.

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[7] Cf. Milton's "On the New Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament," and "To the Lord General Cromwell," or "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont."

Internal Evidence.—The third source of information is in the writings themselves. Since writings grow out of a definite *mêlée* of persons, events and thoughts, and thus reflect the times, a critical analysis of a literature, a "reading between the lines," will furnish many glimpses of these elements and supply materials for reconstructing background. So complete and effective has become the apparatus of such study that a writing that purposely veils its time and author to the point of a *nom de plume* often betrays that fact, and enables the student to reconstruct the kind of events and persons that produced it.[14] That is, back of a message is a person and his world. A poem, philosophical essay, or narrative may be read for its intrinsic merit, but the critical student will vitalize it with people and action.

The Old Testament an Educational Tool.—These general aspects of any great literature are supplemented by specific details when the Old Testament is considered. This literary deposit is essentially religious. It is also a living literature distributed around the world through some millions of copies annually. For millions of Jews it is the only Scripture; for more millions of Christians it is on a par with the New Testament. This Hebraic literature might be called the educational system of Judaism. It was text and library; it was the curriculum of a scheme of education that introduced every member of the nation, regardless of age, sex, or wealth, to the cultural heritage. Even though the Old Testament in its final form was comparatively late, its contents were a circulating educational lore long before the final canonization.[15]

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[8] See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt;* or *A History of Egypt.*

[9] See Baikie, *The Amarna Age;* or Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament.*

[10] See Rogers, *op. cit.;* or Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible.*

[11] See Badé, "Excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh, 1926 and 1927," *Palestine Institute Publication No. 1;* 1928.

[12] Fisher, *Excavation of Armageddon.*

[13] Jacks, *Samaria in Ahab's Time.*

[14] *E.g.,* such books as Enoch, Esdras, Wisdom of Solomon, Epistle of Jeremy, and observable in such books as Deuteronomy, Leviticus, Job, Ecclesiastes, Ezra, *etc.*

The Old Testament, regardless of devotional values, must be approached in the light of its purpose—a book of religion. Not intended to be a history, it contains history. Not planned as a single book, it serves as a single bound volume of source material for knowing about a most significant people. In reading it, one must always focus through ancient, oriental, Semitic spectacles. Otherwise, the unwitting attempt to make the Old Testament a treatise on geology, astronomy, or a card catalog of historical statistics will result only in a blurred vision and hazy concepts of the Bible that vitiate its power or pervert its thought.

The Old Testament was designed to teach religion through the media of historical lore, prophetic orations, law, poetry, short story, essays, and lesser literary fragments. These were crystal gems of literature produced by religious people attempting to transmit something of their own religious experience. The Old Testament is not a single gem, but a casket of pearls; not a book, but a collection of books. First, last, and always it must be dealt with as a tool of religion and education.

Using the Tool.—Obviously, a tool may be used for other than its technical function. A careful study of the tool will often reveal the whole drama of its creation. The miner's diamond drill embodies a story of iron mines, seething furnaces, awful pressures, and temperatures deep in the bowels of the earth. The trail of the drill may lead the investigator around the globe.

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[15] See note 2, p. 22.

The student of Hebrew history picks up Israel's great religious education tool, and through studious examination determines its various parts, then follows the trail of each part until *through* the Old Testament he gets *back of it* and finds the world of persons that created it. Thus a literature becomes a living lore, and this lore falls into relationship of history and cultural episodes. The light of research passes through the film image that is the Bible page, and suddenly upon the screen of time figures move and voices are re-born.

It is thus that Hebrew history may be studied through the literary deposit of the Hebrew people. Once the sources are analyzed and evaluated, the Old Testament, though ultimately a religious book, may be used for scientific purposes.

Summary.—To recapitulate: the Bible began in experience. There are some formal dissertations, but in few instances is there any indication that authors thought they were writing a Scripture, in the usually accepted sense of that word. Some of the legal portions purporting to indicate the divine will,[16] and prophetic parchments with their stirring "Thus saith the Lord," approach such a concept, but even so, the writers were not creating a Bible as such. They were registering a religious value, derived from religious experience; and they were stimulating a response, to begin a religious experience. It was only as later generations sensed these values and treasured these examples of experience that the miscellaneous writings were sifted, selected, and finally forged into a single book of religion.

Beginning in actual living, the Old Testament registers life, and the student can recover this heart-throb, evaluate it; and either reconstruct history through it, or appropriate it as worthy of imitation, or both. The one use may be coldly scientific; the other warmly devotional. Ideally, the study of the Old Testament should yield a modicum of both, so that an academic study of human history becomes the medium of a finer spiritual attitude.

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[16] To the Jew, the Scripture was a *berîth* or covenant between Yahveh and Israel. This was rendered by the Greek word *diathēkē*, a basis of agreement. But the legalistic Latin mind applied the term *testamentum*, a will, and interpreted the Bible as a body of orders issued by imperial authority. This has done much to rob the Bible of its warmth and human interest.

WHO WERE THE HEBREWS?

An Intrusive People.—The Hebrews were an intrusion into Palestine. Just when and how this intrusion took place is still a matter of research, though additional light is being thrown upon the question as excavations progress.

An intruded culture is always of interest to the anthropologist and historian. Tracing it back to origins usually opens up great vistas of human evolution; and observation of the mingling of the migrant peoples with the inhabitants of their adopted home unfolds a drama of syncretism that touches every custom, religious thought, and socio-political development. One cannot grasp the stupendous epic of the Hebrew idea of God, the thrilling story of the prophetic reformers in their struggle against Baalism, or the emergence of an ethical monotheism without some knowledge of the conflict of cultures that raged in the Near East. Much biblical literature, much Hebrew history, even the neglected field of theology, leaps into vivid significance when seen as part of a life stream, palpitant with human struggle.

The Name 'Ibrî.[17]—The very name "Hebrew" is somewhat of a mystery. It is comparatively infrequent in the Bible, applied *to* an Israelite rather than *by* him. The term *'Ibrî* from the verb *'abar* would signify anyone who "crossed over," and is so used far beyond Palestinian limits.[18] The Egyptian spoke of the *'Apiru*,[19] rude foreigners or raiders. Ḫammurabi, the great law-compiler of early Babylon, in a letter to Sin-iddinam mentions the raiders as the *SA-GAZ*, a Sumerian equivalent meaning those who overtake and crush,[20] hence raiders, killers, and bandits.

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[17] Note how this word travelled westward. It is possibly preserved in the Greek *hyper*; in Iber-ian (the people "over" in Spain) and in the German *über* and English *over*. Suggested by Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth*.

[18] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 44.

[19] Godbey, A. H., *The Lost Tribes a Myth*, p. 85.

The Name—Ḫabiri.[21]—In the Amarna letters, Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem complains to Amen-Hotep IV that he is being raided by *Ḫabiri*, (a dialectic variation of the same root word, *ʿabar*).[22] These *Ḫabiri* seem to be pressing in from across the Jordan. From the Nile to the Persian Gulf people of different racial stocks might be designated as raiders, outlanders, or "crossers-over." If they crossed a boundary in peace, they might be Babylonian *amêl Ḫabiri*, or allies;[23] if they were bent on pillage, they would be typically the killers and raiders indicated by Sumerian *SA-GAZ*, Canaanite *Ḫabiri*, or Egyptian *'Apiru*. If the term *Ḫabiri* or *ʿIbrî* was really a general designation of any who crossed over a border, it is not surprising that the name became attached to invading Israelites centuries later. When they invaded Palestine, they too were *ʿIbrî*, or *Ḫabiri*, or *'Apiri* and like all such nicknames, the appellation stuck somehow in their lore.

In this sense it would be possible to say (1) that *ʿIbrî* were found in Palestine long before Israel, the name being geographical and social rather than ethnic; (2) that the old Semitic tongue of Palestine was an "old Hebrew" or speech of Canaanitic *ʿIbrî* and (3) that at times the Bible itself differentiates between Israelites in particular and Hebrews in general. Saul (I Sam. 13:3) wins a battle with an Israelitish force, then trumpets the call that "the Hebrews might hear." In I Sam. 13:6, the men of Israel hide out in caves, but the Hebrews[24] cross over Jordan and go eastward.

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[20] Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, Leipzig; see glossary.

[21] Albright, *op. cit.*, Appx. 206 points out that Ḫabiri, written in cuneiform *khā-BI-ru*, can well be read *kha-PI-ru*, and since the Canaanite guttural, *ʿain* (ʿ) is written *Ḫ* (*Kh*) in the Amarna letters, *kha-bi-ru* is the same as the Egyptian *'A-pi-ru*. These variations represent the dialect or accent as these ancient people tried to speak each other's language.

[22] So translated in Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch.*

[23] So Godbey, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

The Name—IBIRA.—Were it not for all these facts, one might be tempted to seek the origin of the name "Hebrew" in another direction equally interesting. Time and again the Biblical narrative emphasizes the trading activities of the Israelites. Joseph seeks to get his brothers and "trade in the land" (Gen. 42:34). The Shechemites, seeking a league with Israel, say "give us your daughters . . . and dwell . . . and trade in the land." (Gen. 34:10). The Midianites are *sôḫarîm*, "traders," like the typical oriental guild.

The Semites borrowed words and ideas from the Sumerians.[25] The old Sumerian term for a trader or merchant was *IBIRA*. There is no proof that this word has any relation to the term "Hebrew," yet it is suggestive. The Semites of the coast (Phoenicians) and the Semites of the Lebanon hinterland (Arameans) were noted commercial peoples. Were the Egyptian *'Apiru* and the Canaanite *'Ibrî* the ubiquitous traders?

Whatever the discoveries of the future years may bring, it seems safe to point out that of all foreigners, traders, raiders, or boundary-crossers who surged back and forth over that ancient land, one group established itself long enough in central Palestine to develop a national life, weave a traceable thread of continuous history, and lay down a deposit of literature that became one of the most important in the thinking of the world.

"Hebrew" has become the faulty technical term for the one ethnic group that is traceable through this significant literary deposit, the Old Testament, and a loosely linked chain of historical references. Hebrew history, except for the most meticulous scholar, usually refers to the cultural evolution of the Israelitish people.

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[24] "Some of" as given in the English Bible is not in the Hebrew text.

[25] Thus Sumerian *E-GAL*, literally "big house" or palace, became *êkallu* in Assyrian and *hêkal* in Hebrew.

The Name—Israel.—As confusing as their name is the origin of these Israelites. Israel is, of course, a designation subsequently applied to the descendents of Jacob-Israel. (Gen. 32:38, 35:23-26.) Even in the Bible this list is not always the same. The Bible writer recognized that the many Palestinian Semites had some sort of relationship. He did not have ethnology to help him, but he did have a wealth of lore about the wives, concubines, and children of the forefathers. These were built up into family trees to explain the origin and relationship of the many petty tribes of Palestine. In this mass of genealogy, even the Israel lines were often vague. The chief religious value in the Old Testament genealogies is the insistent lesson of human brotherhood. "Israel" must stand as a general term for an Hebraic people who were presumably related, but actually the relation may have been very distant or imagined.

Back of "Israel" stands the figure of Abraham, a local tribal sheik, an intruder into Palestine, but typical of the migrant nomad, or *sôḫer*, "trader." The story of Abraham is the story of a migratory movement from the north country, and the archaeological evidence of such waves sweeping down over Palestine is clear. There are numerous culture intrusions, and Hebrew culture was the outgrowth of intrusive elements modified by Canaanite or old Hurrian culture. (q.v.) The north country, whence Abraham came and where wives were secured for the sons, (Gen. 22 and 29) lay in the path of ethnic movement, at the top of the Fertile Crescent,[26] on the bridge, as it were, between the great civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the Nile.

WHENCE CAME THE HEBREWS

The Pan-Babylonian Theory.—The Fertile Crescent was a veritable melting pot of peoples. At one time scholars were prone to follow a Pan-Babylonian theory of origins which cradled the Semitic race somewhere in Arabia.[27] This implied either great climatic difference between modern and ancient Arabia,[28] or assumed what might be facetiously termed "sandhill evolution" or development of man in a region arid and forbidding. Remains of prehistoric man are usually definitely related to water and food supply. Cave deposits follow old river valleys. Sand dunes have not been vital sources.

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[26] Prof. Breasted so designates the tillable region between Suez and the Persian Gulf; *Ancient Times*, p. 101.

The theory furthermore assumed a pressure from inner Arabia out to the fringes of the crescent, bringing Semites into Palestine on the west, into Aramea on the north, and into the Babylonian region on the east. The discovery of a great Babylonian center at Têmâ might suggest that Arabia could produce peoples and dynasties,[29] but it must be remembered that this exaltation of Têmâ came late; that Babylonian money and power were put into it. What king Nabonidus did at Têmâ was far different from the possibilities back in the dawn of time when *homo* was struggling with naked hands and clouded brain. Arabia may have cradled the Semitic race, but the theory demands sweeping assumptions.

The Amurru Theory.—A second theory of Semitic origins grew out of a rude scrawl on the end of a Babylonian tablet. The clerk had translated the Sumerian *KUR-GAL* (Big Mountain) into Aramaic *'wr* or *'ur*, the same characters as found in Ur of the Chaldees.[30] Since the Babylonian often spoke *u* for *m*, the scribe evidently was jotting down a form of *'mr*, that is Amur or Amurru, the Westland, or Sunset Land, home of the big mountain. (Possibly the

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[27] Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins;* Breasted, *op. cit.*, Sec. 21. The theory has been elaborated through numerous volumes and monographs, German and English.

[28] This has been discussed by Ellsworth Huntington in his *Palestine and Its Transformation.* An interesting study of climatic conditions as revealed by ancient tree rings is presented by Andrew Ellicott Douglass, "The Secret of the Southwest Solved by Talkative Tree Rings," *National Geographic,* LVI, December, 1929.

[29] A brilliant analysis of data and resultant reconstruction of life in Arabia in later times has been presented by a Yale professor, R. P. Dougherty. See his *Nabonidus and Belshazzar,* Chaps. X-XII; article on "The Sealand of Arabia," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* L, No. 1, pp. 1-25; and his *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia* (1932).

[30] Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions,* pp. 21 ff.

Urartu of the inscriptions often identified with Mount Ararat in Armenia.)[31] A German scholar found a similar tablet.[32] Then was found still another tablet with the god's name, *NIN-IB* scratched on as *En-Martu,*[33] the "Lord of Martu Land," another name of Amurru, or Sunset-land. (*Mar* was a sun god, and *TU* in Sumerian can mean "enter," hence the land where the sun entered, the west.)[34] Added to this is the fact that the Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Seti I called this country *'mr*, or Amor, home of Amor-ites.[35]

Out of all this maze of linguistic elements emerged the Amurru or Amoritic theory of Hebrew origins. It assumed a great culture and empire of Amorites in the north country as early as the fourth millennium B.C., possibly centering at Mari on the upper Euphrates.[36] From this cradle of the race wave after wave of migration swept southwestward and southeastward, down the two arms of the crescent. Progressing down the Tigris-Euphrates valley, these invaders contacted the Sumerian culture just north of the Persian Gulf. In the ensuing struggle, Sumer gave way to a Semitic Akkadian domination, the state of Sumer and Akkad emerging under the able leadership of Sargon.[37]

It has been pointed out that many of the names found in inscriptions of these early centuries are Semitic, Amurru-ite, i.e. Amorite. Evidently the religious and political influence from the northwest was strong.[38] The Sumerians staged a temporary revival, a patriotic reaction against the invaders, but it was not permanent. The Ur dynasty period, named from the Sumerian city of Ur, finally passed and Babylon became Semitic, harassed by Elamites, Gutians, Kassites and other hardy opponents.

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[31] See Clay, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites,* p. 75.

[32] Prof. Peiser of Königsberg.

[33] Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions,* p. 22.

[34] Clay, *Empire of the Amorites,* p. 70; *Amurru,* pp. 100, 107.

[35] Clay, *supra,* p. 66.

[36] Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions,* see index, p. 220; and *Empire of the Amorites,* pp. 60 ff.; *cf.* Oesterley and Robinson, *A History of Israel,* I, p. 37 and note No. 3.

[37] King, *History of Sumer and Akkad;* Breasted, *Ancient Times,* pp. 126 ff.

[38] Foreign names are an indication of foreign influence. The new culture becomes a fad; the babies are given names with these new elements. The archaeologist excavates documents containing personal names; his study of these names will indicate the coming in of intruders. See Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period.*

Thus, according to the Amurru theory, the waves of migration are traceable in the fragmentary inscriptions of Sumerian and Semite. The Sumerian gave way but his culture persisted. The Semites adopted his cuneiform system of writing. They made his language the sacred tongue, like Latin of the Christian church, or Hebrew of the modern synagogue. They adopted some of his gods, while contributing a few deities of their own. One Semitic wave, moving in a slightly different direction, took up abode on the Tigris, became followers of Aššur, god of the city of Aššur, and grew into the mighty Aššurians or Assyrians.

Amurru-ites or Amorites in Palestine.—On the western side of the crescent, these Amurru dwellers pushed into Palestine. Here again, in the débris of buried cities, the deposits of successive waves of migration are observable. Palestine was not a forested wilderness when they came. From the stone ages, as testified by Neanderthaloid remains,[39] men had inhabited Palestine. But pre-Semitic dwellers were submerged by the new Amoritic invaders. These intruders brought their culture, but did what an intrusive culture always does, blended with the native. Pre-Semitic high places or worship hills, altars, cup-marked rocks, springs, oak clumps, were reverenced by the newcomers, so that the excavator may find under Semitic débris the remains of non-Semitic worship.

Of these many waves of migration, a few are traceable, and both archaeological fragments and the Old Testament will testify to the incessant movements of peoples in Palestine and even a few tribal names, like Moabites, Edomites, Israelites, Canaanites (Kenanu), Horites (Hurri?), Amorites (Amor) come down to the modern historian. The waves pouring down from the northern land of Amurru engulfed Palestine eventually, making it essentially Amoritic as to peoples and language. Canaanites comprised the "coastlanders," Semites who had possessed the pre-Semitic territory, regardless of specific tribal lines.

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[39] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible,* pp. 61 and 88; *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research,* Nos. 37 and 42; *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* X, pt. 4; *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund,* 1928; *Man,* August, 1931, p. 145; Garrod, *Mesolithic Burials from Caves in Palestine.*

Finally another wave swept in, the Abraham clan included, early in the second millennium B.C. With resident Kenanu (Canaanites) and Ḫatti (Hittites) and Hurri (Horites?) they mingled, traded and fought. So persistent was this southward movement that Palestine and the desert even disgorged some of these wanderers into Egypt, where they displaced native princes and set up the so-called Hyksos regime. Even the Jacob-Israel clans finally trekked into Egypt (the story of the Egyptian bondage), only to swing back into Palestine a few centuries later (the Exodus and the Conquest).

Summary.—Here again, whatever may be the ultimate discoveries that recover the historical details, the fact remains that there were intruders from the north, one of whom managed to develop a cultural tenacity and consciousness that emerged in an historical epoch of great importance and a literature of great power, the Old Testament.

WHO PRECEDED THE HEBREWS?

Origin of Biblical Tradition.—This Amurru theory combated the Pan-Babylonian theory especially at the point of literary heritage. If the Hebrews were transplanted Babylonians,[40] with biblical narrative similar to Babylon's lore, and demonstrably later in written form, then it might be said that Hebrew lore, especially Genesis, was a revamped Babylonian mythology. But if from a common center, Amurru, emerged waves of migration, with a common lore, some of which swept into Babylon, and some into Palestine; and if each culture eventually developed along its own lines, then the Babylonian myths marked the religio-literary consciousness of one group while the biblical narratives represented a higher type growing out of Hebrew religious genius. The biblical lore would then be essentially Hebraic, not borrowed, having a common ancestry with Babylonian, but standing independent and supreme in its own right when it emerged as the Old Testament.

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[40] See pp. 32, 33, and notes; *cf.* also Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions.*

New Light on Origins.—Recent investigations indicate that no one theory of Semitic origins is indisputably tenable as yet. All data point to a turbulent ethnic drama in the north that surges from Asia Minor to India, involving Iranian or Indo-Germanic strains as well as those eventually termed Semitic. An aboriginal Anatolian stock moves as a shadow back stage. The whole discussion of origins has blazed forth in recent years with the unearthing of Subarean and Hurrian evidences so startling that even the supposedly established Hittites become involved in the intricate relationship of peoples and the kaleidoscopic changes of political designations. The witness of the monuments is a jangle of voices or at best a dissonant symphony.

The Hurrians.—The most important find concerns the Hurrians, a basic ethnic group that like the carrier wave of a radio coördinates the myriad voices of the past. These Hurrians have a culture that is not wholly Indo-Iranian, nor is it Semitic. No Hurrian kingdom appears, yet these people are mentioned in Mitanni, in the Lebanon region, and in Khattu-shash, the so-called Hittite center. Hurri appear in the inscriptions of King Šubiluliuma,[41] who aids them against their Mitannian lords; but they also appear leagued with Khattu-shash *against* Šubiluliuma. On Egyptian monuments, Hurri seem to appear as Hittites. Mitannians term themselves Hurri, even when dominated by Indo-Iranian rulers. It is quite evident that the name is not that of a kingdom, but of a people.

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[41] Garstang, *The Hittite Empire;* Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth,* see Index; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* pp. 83, 128.

Hurrian Remains.—The Hurrians can be traced by pottery and culture remains. In the lowest strata of diggings at Susa in Persia; at the head of the Persian Gulf; in Babylon, Assyria, and reaching over toward Asia Minor, pottery of black geometric design on light background is typical.[42] Remarkable finds at Kerkuk tell of an ancient culture before Assyria existed.[43] At Nuzi, excavated by Harvard University and the American School of Oriental Research in Bagdad many inscribed Hurrian type tablets have been found, and the same pottery. Even the name of Assyria's great capital Nineveh, may be Hurrian. No one knows where the name "Hurrian" originated, but the Egyptians knew the term and spoke of *Ḫ'rw*, sometimes pronounced *Ḫaru*, and by some identified with the biblical Horites (Gen. 36:20). Thutmose III fights them at Gezer; Amen-Hotep II conquers them in Retennu (North and South Palestine); Rameses II notes them, and in fact Egyptian records contain references to them down to the middle of the eighth century.[44]

Summary.—Whatever the confusing biblical and other traditions show or archaeological remains suggest, it seems reasonable that a great aboriginal people, designated by Professor Hrdlicka "a hypsicephalic prominent-nosed type," long before the Semites, established their culture through Anatolia Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia and to the edge of India. These people penetrated to Nineveh; down the Tigris-Euphrates valley they pushed to Kish and Ur; eastward they peopled Elam; far in the Westland they inhabited Palestine where they placed an indelible stamp upon it; and possibly one last wave rolled on into Egypt, later to be thrown back into Palestine.[45]

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[42] Godbey, *op. cit.*, 70; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins.*

[43] Andrae, *Die Archaischer Ischtar-tempel in Assur, Ausgrabeungen der Deutsch Orient Gesellschaft,* Vol. 39; *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, 469; "Excavations in Mesopotamia," *Antiquity,* Vol. IV, p. 491.

[44] See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt;* and *History of Egypt.*

[45] This ceramic evidence of a far-flung aboriginal people is significant. At Susa, first aeneolithic pottery was found, and the same type was discovered north and west. At Nineveh, bits of it were found under old Sumerian, hence preceding Sumerian civilization. This first aeneolithic polychrome pottery of Susa and the Zagros region is in pre-Elamitic Babylon, along the Tigris, in Galicia, the Ukraine and southern Turkestan. Palestine partakes of both first and second aeneolithic periods, with an

The Hittites.—One politico-geographical division (Hittite) of these people centered at Khattu-shash, or Silver City, at Boghaz-Keui.[46] Iranian elements conquered them and their language became strongly Indo-European. At one time apparently Mongol elements intruded, and that added another language factor. Egyptian records mention the Ḫatti (Hittites) in south Palestine in 2000 B.C. The Old Testament pictures Abraham trading with Hittites and makes Bath-Sheba's husband, treacherously slain by David, a Hittite. The name applied to various Asia-Minor kingdoms for 1500 years, much as the term "American" might cover widely diffuse races in a politico-geographical unit.

The Semites.—Primarily, the Semites were the peoples speaking a Semitic tongue.[47] To indicate just how they came into this turmoil of races is precarious, considering the mass of undigested data still being perused by scholars. Some have thought that the line between so-called Hamitic and Semitic stocks is less rigid than has been supposed.[48] Arabia is still so definitely Semitic, and the Arabic language so near to the early and purer forms, that it is easy to surmise that this land cradled the Semitic speaking groups, whence they emerged to press in upon Hurrian elements throughout the Fertile Crescent.[49]

Because of close linguistic relations with certain Hamitic

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intermediate pottery style at Tell Zeidan. The second aeneolithic extends from the Zagros and Anatolia westward into Cyprus, down through Palestine, and is found in lower Egypt in the pre-dynastic period. There is even indication that this old basic culture touched Europe and the Danube. The so-called first Semitic pottery is a continuation of the same old style, minus certain archaic features. It was probably formed on a crude wheel, is of brilliant red or pale cream color, and second aeneolithic in type. The first aeneolithic period might be roughly dated between 5000 B.C. and 3500 B.C. The first Semitic could not extend later than 1800 B.C., and began probably early in the third millennium B.C.

[46] *Cf.* Frankfort, *Studies of Early Pottery in the Near East;* Godbey, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[47] Contenau, *Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale,* I, Chap. 3; Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I, p. 39; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* p. 36.

[48] Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins,* p. 175, note.

[49] These Semitic tongues are closely related and indicate some original unity, whatever the theory of origin. They are grouped as: East Semitic—Babylonian, Assyrian; North Semitic—Aramaic, Syrian; West Semitic—Phoenician, Hebrew, Canaanite; South Semitic—Arabic, Sabaean, Ethiopic. See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions,* xvii, note. Words are built out of three basic consonants, the root. Thus *šaphaṭ* "to judge" but *šôphet* "a judge," different vocalizations of the root *š-ph-ṭ* "judge." Also the writing is without vowels; tenses confined to two states indicating completed or incompleted action; very few particles; nouns and verbs predominating. Many of these characteristics throw light upon Biblical passages that are misleading in English. (š = sh)

forms, it has even been suggested that an original Hamito-Semitic people developed in Africa and on the Arabian fringes,[50] whence they intruded into the well-established Fertile Crescent cultures, carrying their language,[51] and eventually establishing what has been termed the Semitic World, i.e., the Fertile Crescent from Egypt to the Persian Gulf.

Summary of What the Data Suggest.—In any study of the Bible there is some advantage in even knowing that there is a problem. It checks dogmatism and spurs interest. The Old Testament student may not settle the pre-Abraham questions or be certain as to how Semites came to be and how they got into Palestine, but it is possible to study them after they got there and to finger back through the pages of history that they have written. The conflicting data at least proclaim many migratory movements. Some of them inevitably passed from north to south.

Whether there was ever an Amorite empire or not, from the Westland, Amurru, certain migrants moved into the Tigris-Euphrates valley. From this same center they drifted into Palestine. It will be noted that the essential plot is much the same in all the theories—Stone ages, early cultures, migration and mingling,—teeming peoples, Anatolians, Hurrians, Hittites, Ḫabiri, Amurru, Mitanni, Subareans—emergent Semites, then Palestinian Semites, and finally what is generally termed "The Old Testament World," with interest focused upon the Israelitish clans, to whom the name *'Ibrî* or "Hebrew" becomes affixed as the permanent popular designation.

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF TRADITION?

Racial Memories.—Before taking up the more detailed study of Hebrew history, a word about tradition and folk lore is necessary. Discoveries such as have been reviewed

[50] Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 175.
[51] *Cf.* Pan-Babylonia theory.

above, with the inevitable variations between biblical and archaeological witnesses, and especially the parallel aspects of Babylonian and biblical stories have led many to the conclusion that much of the older Hebrew lore is mythological. Sometimes the term has been applied to the patriarchal sagas, and even to the beginnings of the Hebrew kingdom.

The archaeologist is a bit slow to relegate dim racial memories to the limbo of pure fiction. Allowing for childlike love of the mysterious, the grandiose, and a tale well told, there is still the kernel of wheat in the bushel of literary chaff. Furthermore, to the historico-literary student, the kernel of historical fact is often better evaluated through a study of the chaff. The very process that lifts a bare event into the realm of a folk-saga is in itself a part of the folk-history.

Bible Not a Myth.—Only to a very limited extent should the term myth be used in dealing with Hebrew lore. Tradition is a much better word, signifying as it does the oral transmission of customs, deeds, beliefs, and general group lore. To say that history begins with writing is a mistake. The soldiers at Gettysburg had no time to write it down. History can just as well become a reality when lore takes a definite transmissible form even in memory. The ancient world handed down such memorized cycles for centuries.

As has been pointed out[52] "the fact that there are so many elements of folk lore . . . does not injure the historical and pedagogical value of Genesis. Quite the contrary, it enhances its value . . . the transmission of oral tradition is bound by its form. If the latter is poetic, the tradition persists with sometimes most incredible tenacity. . . . Nearly all tradition has a short period of prose transmission before it is put into verse. During this period it is adjusted to the requirements of the popular mind. . . ."

Racial memory may lack scientific exactness, but it preserves the plot. Ogres and giants may be the racial memory of Cro-Magnon man's horror of the shambling, brutish Neanderthal.[53] The Iliad was discounted and Homer doubted, but Schliemann doggedly followed the lead and revealed ancient Troy to skeptical experts. More than one elaborate tale of Amerindian origins is being vindicated by cave remains, artifacts, and the growing mosaic of archaeological evidence.[54]

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[52] Albright, *op. cit.*, 148.

Tradition and Fact.—Tradition, or high-lighted, embellished history, can not be discarded. It is a valuable depository of elements which the historian must sort, relate, and restore to some semblance of order. Traditions do not condense out of thin air. *Something* lies back of a tradition; something gets it going. That "something" may be a person or an event, or both.

Keeping in mind the turmoil of peoples mentioned above, the story of the patriarchs is more than a troubadour's yarn. It grows out of some tribal movements. Genesis 14 at least strangely parallels known Elamitic contacts in Palestine. The Egyptian bondage is certainly in line with some of the known Egypto-Semitic relations.[55] More than one traveller has identified manna in the Sinaitic peninsula[56] even if the Hebrew story does add sabbath ritual complications (Num. 11:7-9, Ex. 16:4-5, 31:14-26). Joshua and the conquest may have provided some lurid literature, but stones and pottery cry out from many a mound that an invading Semite swept Palestine with fire and sword in the late Bronze Age. The dedication of Solomon's temple as told in the Bible is scarcely a cold stenographic report of the actual events and prayers (1 Kg. 8 and 2 Chron. 5-7), but the ancient foundation platform is still there.

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[53] Developed by Sir Harry Johnston and quoted in Wells, *Outline of History,* 3d ed., p. 70.

[54] Notably the work of E. R. Harrington in the Moapa Valley in the state of Nevada, U. S. A., in relation to pre-Pueblo basket-maker culture. Old tradition tells of the prehistoric trek from the far north. The *atlatl* or throwing stick, characteristic of Alaskan regions, has been found in deposits in the Southwest. The Owens Valley Indians of California tell of the cataclysm when the fire gods came, and the geologist reads a parallel story in the volcanic aspects of the valley. Mayan legends and doubtful Spanish records receive corroboration from time to time.

[55] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible;* Breasted, *History of Egypt;* Petrie, *Egypt and Israel;* Oesterley and Robinson, *A History of Israel,* Vol. I, Chap. V.

[56] Ebers identifies the word "manna" with *mennu,* supposedly an Egyptian word, meaning "food." (*International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia,* III, p. 1982.) Hebrew *man* means "what?" as though they asked "what is it?" It may have been the sweet, honey-like exudation of a species of desert tamarisk, *tamarix gallica mannifera,* when the bark is punctured by an insect, a phenomenon readily observable today in the Sinaitic peninsula.

The Truth of the Bible.—So all through the Old Testament it will be necessary to be somewhat sympathetic with the psychology of tradition. It must be taken for its true value. The question about a biblical narrative "Is it true?" must cut far below the surface of crass literalism. The "truth" of such narratives lies not in card index accuracy but in underlying episodes that gave rise to the elaborated tradition. The spectacles of the ancient orient must be used to focus these Hebrew stories into a history. When this is properly done, some very radical and disturbing discoveries and suggestions will fall into a constructive résumé of the life, literature, and cultural contributions of the people of Israel, and the result will be "true" to both Bible and archaeological data. The Bible is true; but it must be read with biblical spectacles, not modern occidental lenses.

WHAT IS GENESIS?

A Literary Composition.—The book of Genesis, the Hebraic story of origins, may be studied as a literary composition in itself. However, it is more logical to let this literature grow under our eyes, as it were, by studying Hebrew history as it unfolds, and eventually placing the completed book in its niche in the Bible story where it becomes an instrument for promoting religion.

Troublesome Elements.—Long ago lovers of the Bible began to study the manuscripts and texts to discover, if possible, what might have been the original form.[57] In so doing, it soon became evident that many hands had worked at the task of collecting and editing material. It was quite apparent that the divine inspiration worked not only through those who uttered or wrote the originals, but unnamed editors had felt a call and consecrated their talents to organizing Israel's religious lore. They too were men of prophetic vision and earnestness, teaching through the medium of the great literary fragments that they pieced out.

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[57] Trattner, *Unravelling the Book of Books*, Chaps. I-V; Eiselen, *The Books of the Pentateuch*, Chap. II.

It has been said that present day biblical study has added to biblical knowledge the most intriguing element of all—the persons who wrote.[58] Even in the case of those authors whose names are presumably known, such as the prophetic writers, interest today swings far beyond the doctrinal implications of their concepts. Present day biblical study recaptures men like Isaiah and Jeremiah. Quite literally many Bible readers are discovering that Bible writers were people. It is a great discovery.

Nameless Scribes.—But most of the actual scribes will be forever nameless. They wrought, and only God knows their identity.[59] However, here again careful analysis of biblical books, taking into account language, style, vocabulary, idioms, ideas, and background, enables us to know the kind of person an author was, even if not his name. Part of the work of the student of the Old Testament is to discover these personalities through their books and to evaluate their work and purposes. Thus a study of the Old Testament is not only a study of Israel's history but of her literary production.

For example, a large chunk of Israel's history is in the books of Kings. But some editor, or group of writers, rewrote that history as a set of religious lessons. The books of Chronicles are the result. In a Hebrew Bible they come last, in the third division, the miscellaneous writings or *Kethûbîm*, accepted as scripture only in the late period.

Searching the Scriptures.—Scholars long ago noted strange statements in the Pentateuch which suggested other hands than Moses'.[60] These men were not anti-religious, atheistic, or impious, but were learned, devout searchers for truth. Strange to say a humble Zulu, questioning Bishop Colenso, stirred his interest, resulting in an epoch making book, consternation in England, persecution, bickering, and some very ungodly conduct in the name of godliness.[61]

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[58] So Smith, H. P., in his *Old Testament History*.

[59] The great Origen's comment on the epistle to the Hebrews, that "God only knows" who wrote it, is significant.

Truth and Authority.—In the last analysis, authorship has nothing to do with ultimate truth. Twice two is four, regardless of who discovered it or when. Truth is not established by age or authority. It is its own authority, proved by putting it to work. Fortunately the Old Testament makes few authorship claims. There is not a line that says Moses wrote the Pentateuch verbatim. Much of it is in retrospect. Genesis 12 says, "the Canaanite was then in the land," so it must have been written when the Canaanite was no longer there. Certainly this looks backward from a time when Israel was fully established in Palestine. Deuteronomy 34:6 says concerning Moses' grave that "no man knoweth of his sepulchre *unto this day*." "*Unto this day*" points to some writer after Moses. Genesis 36 speaks of the kings of Edom who reigned before there was a king over Israel. The kingdom did not exist until over a century after Moses' time; the writer was evidently not Moses. In Numbers 12:3 Moses is spoken of as a meek man; but in Deuteronomy 34 he presumably writes that "There arose not a prophet *since* in Israel like unto Moses." *Since* proclaims a post-Mosaic writer, while the last reference reveals anything but a "meek" Moses.

The great Jewish rabbi, Ibn Ezra, intimated that these biblical problems were mysteries which, if comprehended, had best be kept confidential. But the light could not be hid. Today the Pentateuch still stands; it tells much about Hebrew beginnings, Moses included. As a library of specific authors it is subject to searching question; but as a creation of in-breathed (inspired) men, it is invaluable.

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[60] Spinoza, a Jew; Richard Simon, a Catholic priest; Jean Astruc, physician to Louis XV; and Eichhorn, a Christian professor at Jena.

[61] Colenso, *The Pentateuch Critically Examined*, London, 1862.

A Book of Religion.—To pick up the book of Genesis is to pick up a book of valuable lore, a book of religion, a book of tradition, a book about persons who are far more important in their lives than in any scribal capacity. Paradoxically, Moses is bigger than the Pentateuch, and the Pentateuch is bigger than Moses! Identity can only stultify both.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Do all copies of the Bible agree?
2. Have you ever derived religious help from literary sources outside the Bible?
3. Can you recall a specific instance where the Bible helped you to meet a definite problem or situation?
4. If you have used the Bible principally for devotions, do you see any added value in deriving history from it?
5. Is the "truth" of a great painting in the chemistry of the paints or in the effect?
6. Does fear for the Bible's integrity indicate a lack of faith in it?
7. Have you found objections to critical study of the Bible advanced to protect the Bible, or to sustain certain belief about the Bible?
8. Why do you omit some of the Bible in your ordinary reading of it?
9. Is the history of your community, school, or class being systematically recorded? If not, will it die?

a. Can an ancient book touch modern conditions?
b. What evidence have we of the mixture of European and Indian cultures in America? (Breasted, AT, p. 258.)
c. Would you expect the later Semites to be affected by preceding Hurrian culture if they lived in the same country?
d. Would the Hebrews be any less the people of God if they got some ideas from their neighbors?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The Council of Jamnia and the Old Testament Canon. (Moehlman, UB, p. 173; Smyth, BIM and HGB; Trattner, UBB; Wild, LGB, p. 196; Willett, OB, VI, and BTC, index; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 30-39; Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc., pp. 554-563; Jewish Enc., index; Oxford Helps, pp. 2-4.)
2. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. (Barton, AB, IV-V; Cobern, NAD, Pt. 1, IV.)

3. A comparison of the contents and order of books in the Hebrew and English Bibles.
a. The *'Apiru* of the Egyptian inscriptions. (Albright, APB, pp. 44, 204; Barton, AB, p. 37; Breasted, HE, index; Godbey, LTM, index; Olmstead, HPS, index; Rowe, THB, p. 29.)
b. The Harvard excavations at Nuzi. (Albright, APB, pp. 137, 208; Godbey, LTM, p. 78 ff.; Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, VI, pp. 75-92; Bulletins of ASOR, Nos. 18-42; Journal of the American Oriental Soc'y., XLVII, pp. 36-40.)
c. The Hurrians. (Albright, APB; Godbey, LTM; Olmstead, HPS, index; Smith, EHA, XIII; Speiser, MO, V.)
d. The biblical Horites. (Barton, AB, p. 121 ff.; Hall, AHNE, p. 184; Olmstead, HPS, XI; Robinson, SAC, XXIII; also encyclopedic references.)
e. The American Schools of Oriental Research. (Albright, APB, index; Barton, AB, p. 108 ff.; Bulletins and Annuals of ASOR, especially Ann. VI, pp. 1-9.)

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4. The meaning and function of "lower" and "higher" criticism. (Driver, ILOT, pp. vi-xiii; Willett, OB, pp. 109-110; Trattner, UBB, index.)
5. Jewish critics of the Hebrew Scriptures. (Geden, IHB; Graetz, HJ, III, p. 523 ff., et passim; Eiselen, BP, III; Rosenblatt, HPM, pp. 115-120; Trattner, UBB, I-IV; Wallis, MCP.)
f. Early heresies that became accepted doctrines. (Moehlman, UB, IV-V; Reinach, O, index; A Church History or History of Doctrine.)
g. Colenso and his work. (Colenso, LPMS and PCE; Cox, LBC; Trattner, UBB, index; Encyclopedias.)
h. Schliemann's search for ancient Troy. (Baikie, LAE, X; Breasted, AT, pp. 244-248; Schliemann, Ilios; Wild, EHP, pp. 9-11.)
i. Indian stories that embody history. (Hodge; Kidder; Lummis; Whitman; See bibliography.)

CHAPTER II

INSTRUCTIONS

Remember: Arabic numerals, elementary; letters, advanced work. References cited are but for initial approach; read further, using indexes to follow up any topic.

Follow carefully. This is foundation work.

* * * * *

1. Read Gen. 12-19 rapidly at one sitting, to get the sweep of the story. If necessary to aid memory, write down main events.
2. As you read the text, find and re-read the biblical references—e.g. Abraham and Lot; destruction of Sodom; etc. Also note any Hebrew terms and their meaning. (Consult Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc.)
3. On a map (No. 4) identify all geographical locations mentioned—e.g. Haran, Ur, Elam, Sodom, etc. (Church, IS, p. 2; Kent, BGH; King, HSA; Macalister, CEP, II and frontispiece; Olmstead, HPS, maps; Smith, G. A., HGHL.)
4. Make an outline map of the Near East, from Haran to the Nile. Trace the journeys of Abraham.
5. Note carefully the archaeological data in text and footnotes, and read available library references. (Barton, AB, X; Clay, OBT, I-II; Kyle, ES; Lods, I, pp. 16-32; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, I-IV; Olmstead, HPS, index; Oxford Helps, pp. 39 ff., 100 ff.; Petrie, EI, I.)

a. List such personal names in the genealogies as are also used for tribes or places. (cf. map) (Duncan, IBA, X; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 45 et passim; Oxford Helps, p. 91; Hastings Dict. of the Bible; Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc.)

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6. Read Gen. 20-25 and outline main events.
7. Trace the rest of the patriarchal journeys on the outline map.
8. Study the geographical description of all place names mentioned; if possible look up archaeological discoveries made at these sites. (Barton, AB, index; Kent, BGH, V, XI, XII; Macalister, CEP, index; McCown, GSG, II; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, II; Robinson, PGHL, index; Rostovtzeff, CC, ad lib.; Smith, HGHL, index; Con. Bib. Inc., pp. 231-262; Oxford Helps, pp. 219 ff.)
9. List the social customs portrayed in the various incidents so as to see the characters in their ancient setting. (Day, SLH; Kent, STPG,

pp. 35 ff.; Schaeffer, SLPS, I, II; Smith, KM; Soares, SIIB, pp. 19-21, 39-73; Bull. ASOR, No. 45, pp. 20-31; JAOS, LIII, pp. 76-78.)

b. Pick out the duplicate stories in Gen. 12-25. (Church, IS, p. 54; Driver, ILOT, pp. 5-21; Kent, BHH, pp. 73-101.)

c. Study the Hammurabi code, section on marriage and rights of women. (Barton, AB, Pt. II, XIII; Harper, CH, pp. 45-71; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 427-445.)

d. Note the various genealogies and stories of tribal origins. (See instruction *d* of preceding project for references; Lods, I, pp. 151-158; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 55-64; Robinson, SAC, XXII, XXIII.)

The Patriarchal Period

WHO WAS ABRAHAM?

The Beginning.—Hebrew history, in the practical acceptance of the term, begins with the Patriarchal period. The patriarchate[1] is a common social type in primitive life. Earliest man may have been matriarchal,[2] and there are supposed relics of such a form in the Bible,[3] but the nomadic tribe is essentially patriarchal; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob clearly represent patriarchal Semites shifting about in Palestine.

Abram—Abraham.—At one time the very name Abraham was doubted. Certain scholars[4] finding no material evidence of the patriarchs (such argument from silence or lack of evidence is always dangerous) elaborated the theory that the patriarchal stories were zodiacal myths, sun and moon deities hitched up to popular tribal origins. One[5] saw Abraham's 318 retainers as the number of days in the year when the moon was visible! Another[6] saw it all as Babylonian mythology and even possible archaeological references on the monuments were largely explained away. Some held that the patriarchs might be historical, but so dimmed by popular tradition that the stories were of little historical value.[7] This latter attitude is less objectionable, provided the way is kept open to evaluate popular tradition and wring droplets of history from it.

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[1] Father at the head. See Bogardus, E. A., *Introduction to the Social Sciences*, Chap. V.

[2] Mother at the head, or lineage traced through her. See Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 78. See also Lods, A., *Israel*, pp. 191 ff.

[3] Such as Jacob's entry into the family of the wife, Gen. 29:18, and Moses' residence with Zipporah's tribe, Ex. 2:21.

[4] Notably Stucken, Winckler and Jensen.

[5] Winckler, Hugo, in his *Geschichte Israels*.

[6] Jensen, a professor at Marburg, in *Das Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, 1906.

It is true that excavation as yet gives meager information about early Semitic arrival in Palestine[8] or the actual inter-relation of peoples. Hivites, Hittites, Amorites, Jebusites, Perizzites, Gergashites are mentioned in the Bible during the wilderness period, but when Israel invades Palestine these ethnic names disappear and others come in, such as the Gibeonites who subtly extract a truce from Joshua (Josh. 9). Hittites are mentioned in Hebron in Abraham's day, but no evidence has been dug up and the later Hebrew invaders deal with giant Anakîm, not Hittites.

On the other hand a tablet at Yale,[9] and others at Berlin[10] contain forms of the name Abraham. There is record of an Amorite Abraham who rented a wagon.[11] The name-element, *ram* (high), is West Semitic[12] and in Genesis 20, Amoritic or Aramean ancestry is claimed for Abraham. The Bible indicates this Amorite country as the place where wives were secured for Isaac and Jacob (Gen. 24 and 29). Abraham seems a possible Amurru figure.

Ur (of the Kaldi).—Terah, Abraham's father, moved from Ur to Haran. It is doubtful that this ever referred to old Sumerian Ur (See Map No. 4), for it was not "Of the Kaldi."[13] The term "Kaldi" appears about 950 B.C.[14] and is a dialectic form of the root *kašâdu*, "to conquer."[15] Sometimes it seems to apply to Amorite stock,[16] and often

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[7] Jeremias, Alfred, in *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 1904.

[8] Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, p. 150.

[9] Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, No. 15, line 3.

[10] From Tell Deilam, about twenty miles south of Babylon. Ungnad, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VI, 5, p. 60.

[11] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, Chap. IX

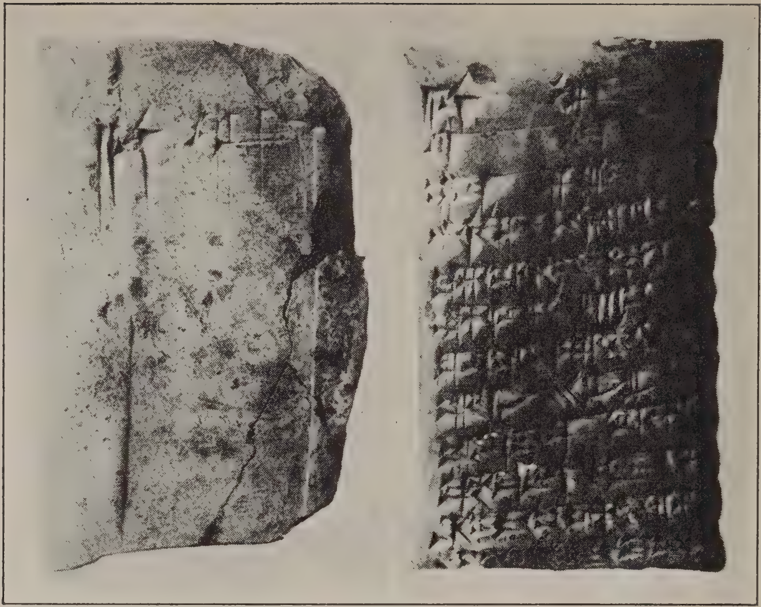
[12] This appears in Phoenician names, *Ram-Baal; Melek-Ram.*

[13] *Kaldu* did not especially apply to lower Babylonia in the early period; see Clay, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, p. 170; Lods, *Israel*, pp. 165-166.

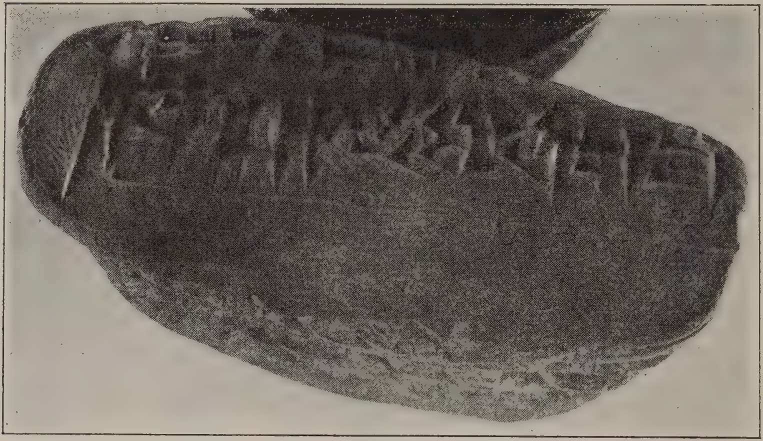
[14] Godbey, *op. cit.*, 571.

[15] In the Semitic tongues, *š* sometimes changes to *l*, hence a form *Kašdi* would become *Kaldi.*

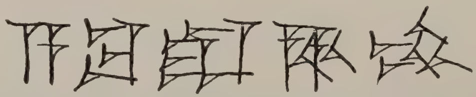
[16] This would further suggest Urfa of the Aramean *Kaldi.* An ancient Jewish tradition identified Ur with Urfa (Edessa) about thirty miles north of Haran. (Map No. 4) Arfa-Kesed (Biblical Arphaxad?) seems to be a connection of this Urfa with the tribal



The Yale Abraham (*A-ba-ra-ha-am*) tablet with part of outside case. Text 15 in Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, Vol. II of *YBT*.



Lower Edge of Yale Abraham tablet. After *A-ba-ra-ḫa-am* occurs the verb *el-qi-e-ma* from *leqû* (*laqû*), "take."



Tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection containing the names of A-ba-ra-ḫa-am. Part of the envelope has been preserved. Enlarged picture of edge of tablet shows Abraham's name. By reference to the drawing, the cuneiform characters can be followed by giving the successive values to the signs as copied: *A-ba-ra-ḫa-am.*

to the Sea-land peoples further south, who set up the late Sea-land dynasties over Babylon,[17] causing Babylon to be called Chaldea. Ur "of the conquerors" is very indefinite. It might even be the parenthetical remark of a late scribe.

It happens, however, that *UR* (Sumerian) is akin to *'UR, AmURru,* the designation of the Westland. When Abraham left his kindred to follow the command to "go out" (Gen. 12:1) he trekked south from Haran, which is in this Westland, north of Palestine (See Map No. 4). Hence the whole drama consistently moves in the northern Fertile Crescent, the *MAR-TU* or Amurru of the inscriptions. Abraham was not Babylonian; he was Amoritic. Haran was a prosperous center. There the Terah clan settled; there the relatives remained as Abraham followed his call. This fits the Bible and the known ethnic movements.

As previously noted, waves of migration swept out of this Amurru region southward. Of these many waves, one concerns the Old Testament student because it ultimately eventuated in the Old Testament. A group of nomads, or a shifting tribe is sure to be under some personal leadership, some sheik. It was once said, during a conflict of criticism about Homer, that if Homer did not write the Iliad, it was another man with the same name. Of Abraham, one might surmise that if he did not lead a band of Amoritic Hebrews from the north to Palestine, it was another man of the same name! Abraham is more than a shadow.

"Just as the Homeric Age stands at the beginning of Greek history, so does the Age of the Patriarchs in Israelite. Through the mist of ages we greet the figure of Abraham whom Christians, Jews and Mohammedans

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group, the Chesed of Gen. 22:22. Kittel reads *kasdîm* as *kaldîm* and suggests *Kaldia,* a land in the Armenian district. In any case, though the evidence is elusive and shadowy, it persistently points to a Mesopotamian location rather than Sumerian. See Dougherty, R. P., *Yale Review,* Autumn, 1930, on Wooley's *Remains of Ancient Culture at Ur.*

[17] On the Sea-land, see Dougherty, R. P., *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* L, No. 1, pp. 1-25; by the same author, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar,* Chaps. X and XI. His summary of this whole Sea-land question appears in *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia.*

reverence. . . . Abraham, Isaac and Jacob remain on the other side of Moses; but the lines which lead from their gods to the God of Israel have become distinct."[18]

WHY DID ABRAHAM MIGRATE?

The Covenant (berith) Concept.—Why should Abraham, or any Amorite sheik, have left fertile Haran for comparatively arid Palestine? To psychoanalyze Abraham through idealized tradition after thirty-eight hundred years is precarious, but certainly men and groups have often migrated under the expulsive power of a religious idea.[19] Allowing for pious late embellishment of the Abraham story, the persistent tradition was that an idea motivated him. He may have been a trader, (*sôḫer*); he certainly was a border crosser, (*'Ibrî*), but there is no reason to believe that his mind was dimmed. Tremendous religious impulses have emanated from humble sources.

Traditionally, Abraham was associated with a *berîth* or "covenant" (Gen. 12:2-3, 7; 15:13; 17:9; etc.). Whether he was a Yahweh follower the Bible itself does not consistently state.[20] The Yahweh cult has devious leadings. The various *El* cults, such as are hinted in the titles El-Elyon (God Most High?) and El-Shaddai (Gen. 17:1) (God of The Mount?) may have been typical of pre-Abrahamitic Palestine. Palestine was a hotbed of cults, many degraded, that influenced later Hebrew religion and stirred the prophets' ire.

But the covenant idea is persistently imbedded in this old Abraham lore. If genuine, it represents a basic psychological attitude. Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian religion (and certainly any Mesopotamian cult of which anything is known) rested upon the primitive animistic or magic concept. The same intelligent priests who laid the foundation of mathematics and astronomy clung to their superstitions. Such a religion assumes a deity of caprice, who may be bought, cajoled, or fooled if one has the right technique. Amulets, incantations, ritual performance, necromancy, omen-taking, blind fear, and luck make the pattern of such a faith.[21]

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[18] From Böhl, F. M. Th., *Das Zeitalter Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1930; and Alt, A., *Der Gott der Väter*, Stuttgart, 1929.

[19] *E.g.*, Huguenots, Pilgrims, Mormons, Mennonites, *etc.*

[20] Compare Gen. 12:8 and Ex. 6:3.

The *berîth* concept is the idea of a promise or agreement between contracting parties who act not on caprice but upon reason and order. Not only does the *berîth* imply an embryo ethical idea, but it is the fundamental law-and-order concept of the universe that ultimately gave birth to a world of science and hope. This was the great contribution of Hebrew genius to the world. It was to be the knell of superstition. It cannot be said that Abraham puzzled this all out, but like the unerring instinct of a homing pigeon this Amorite's religiousness may have crystallized in a restless urge which drove him forth—to new scenes and new adjustments wherein he built better than he himself knew.

Summary.—Allowing for the psychological and traditional elements, and viewing Palestine in its archaeological aspects, the Bible pictures an Amorite, Abraham, tribal leader, well-to-do trader, with a growing religious idea of great import, among those shifting peoples who trod Palestinian soil early in the second millennium B.C.

WHEN DID IT HAPPEN?

The Elamite Raid and Genesis 14.—The date of the patriarchal period has been variously estimated. Genesis 14 pictures Abraham in league against an Elamite coalition. The chapter stands alone. One could skip from chapter 13 to chapter 15 and never sense a break. The story as it now reads is of late authorship,[22] yet it has a flavor of antiquity.[23] Melchizedek is the real hero; Abraham pays tribute to him; but the legend has been woven into a remarkable lesson on the tithe and priestly support.

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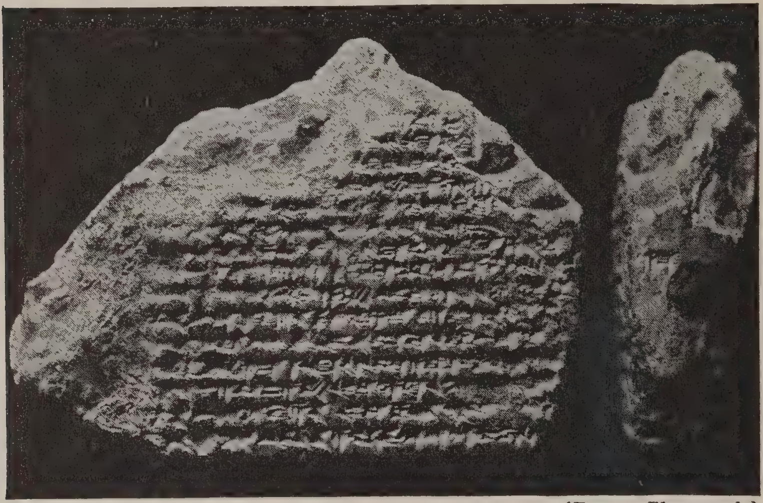
[21] The Hebrews had many such practices. It took centuries for whatever germinal idea there was concerning the *berîth* to flower out into a high ethical religion. Peasant superstition and prophetic ideals were to clash desperately. See Lods, *Israel,* for survey of ancient cults and beliefs.

[22] On the critical discussion, see such works as the *International Critical Commentary*; Eiselen, *The Books of the Pentateuch;* or Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.*

Verses 18-24 preserve traces of the 3-3 meter poetry.[24] Back of Genesis 14 lies an ancient poetic saga. Some of the language is archaic.[25] Even the designation of Melchizedek of Jerusalem[26] as both priest and king parallels the old



(*From a Photograph.*)

Left. Obverse of an Unbaked Babylonian Tablet, mentioning Dûr-makh-ilâni, son of Eri-Aku, possibly Arioch, king of Ellasar; Tudkhula, possibly Tidal, king of nations; and Kudur-Lagamar, king of Elam, possibly Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Now in the British Museum.

Right. Edge of the Same, showing the characters "-Aku" (the last two characters of Arioch) written "round the corner," in continuation of line 9.

Gen. 14. 1.

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[23] This might be considered the artful technique of a late author, but archaeological elements are incorporated that could scarcely have been known to a late, uncritical Hebrew narrator.

[24] In a later section Hebrew poetry and meter will be discussed. See Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings*, Chap. 1; Knopf, *Bible Poetry and Inspired Song*, 1-17.

[25] For example, "he levied his retainers," Gen. 14:14. The word "retainers" is from *ḫâniku*, a term preserved in a fifteenth-century cuneiform letter from Tanaach to designate minions of a Palestinian chieftain. Genesis has thus preserved an archaic form and its pronunciation. The word "levied" is troublesome, as there is a possible error in the Hebrew text. It has been suggested that the verbal root might be related to an old Akkadian term meaning "to gather" or "to levy." See Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 141; by the same author, "The Historical Background of Genesis XIV," in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, X, 262. Source material in Gustavs, *Die Personnennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek*, Leipzig, 1928.

[26] Jerusalem is mentioned in the Amarna letters (*q.v.*) as *Uru-salim*, and in Assyrian

Sumerian institution of the *patesi*, priest-king of a petty city state. A hoary atmosphere envelopes the whole story, with a startling coincidence of archaeological and linguistic data that makes it more than baseless legend. Sometime during the middle Bronze Age of Palestine this episode transpired.

Suggestive Names.—At one time the names in this chapter were identified with certain historical characters. Amraphel (note consonants *m-r-p-l*) was made Ḫammurabi.[27] Chederlaomer (*k-d-r-l-m-r*) was read as *Kudur-lagamar* or *Ku-dur-laḫ-mar*.[28] Many scholars opposed this reading,[29] yet strange to say the Septuagint preserves in its translation the form Chodollogomor, showing that some sort of ancient tradition other than the present Hebrew Bible had been handed down that identified Chederlaomer with a form like *Kudur-lagamar*. A deity, *La-ga-ma-ru*, is recorded in Ashurbanipal's annals,[30] so such a term was certainly known.[31]

At present there is no possible way of settling controversy about this Chederlaomer. Yet the Bible, the inscriptions, and the very discrepancies that cause the trouble are too suggestive to be ignored. In addition, Arioch of Ellasar tantalizingly suggests *Eri-aku* and the city Larsa.[32] Tidal

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inscriptions as *Ur-sa-li-im-mu*. It may be a compound of *uru*, "city," and *salamu*, "to help or assist" or "to be safe," hence the refuge or fortress. From its impregnable position such a name could be easily derived.

[27] The final *l* explained on philological grounds.

[28] Prof. Sayce so read it; Prof. Pinches partly agreed.

[29] See Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 321 ff.

[30] *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, Col. III, line 30; ed. Lau and Langdon.

[31] This whole problem of Chederlaomer has caused much discussion. The name appears in three texts published by Pinches in the *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XXIX, 1895-1896. It is written *KU-KU-KU-MAL* and also *KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL*. The cuneiform sign *KU* has also the value *DUR*; and the combined *KU-KU* can mean *laḫâmu*, so that by allowing for these variations, the name might possibly be read *KU-DUR LAḪ-MAL* (final *l* becoming *r* in the Hebrew form). Did a scribe omit one *KU* sign in the first case?

It should also be noted that *KU* has another value, *nâḫu* or *ḫun* (Brünnow, No. 10540), so it has been suggested that the name be read *KU-DUR-NAḪUN-TE*, sounding like the name of an Elamite king, Kudur-Naḫunte II, contemporary of Hittite Dudḫaliash IV, sometimes thought to be *Tu-ud-ḫul-a* or Biblical Tidal. One difficulty is that this requires that the sign *MAL* be read *TE*, a guess not yet sustained. *Cf.* Albright in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, X, 233 n. 8 and 236 n. 16. Even after such identifications are made, there is still the problem that these two kings are ascribed to the twelfth century B.C., long after Abraham. Further discussion is supplied by Dougherty, *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia*, 33-35.

[32] Sometimes identified with Arad-Sin, as the Sumerian sign could be read as the Semitic *warad* or the dialectic (*eme-sal*) *eri*. This Arad-Sin died about thirty years

vaguely recalls a *Tud-ḫulu,* who appears in a document, though not a king.[33] In documents where these names appear Hammurabi is not mentioned. Records show that *Ku-dur-laḫ-mal* even devastated Hammurabi's city, a poor way to build up an alliance for invading Palestine.[34] The whole jumble of conflicting data flits like a will-o'-the-wisp before the student's eyes, luring to further investigation, but as yet defying capture. Something is there, back of it all, momentarily gleaming through Bible page and cuneiform records.

Dating the Patriarchs.—Considering the maze of factors, while Genesis 14 cannot be used to "date the patriarchs" it suggests a very ancient tradition about an eastern invasion of Palestine early in the 2nd millennium B.C., which invasion brought conflict with local tribes and leaders. There is trace of invaders from the north through eastern Gilead and Moab (See Maps No. 7 and No. 8), and a line of Bronze Age mounds has been discovered along this route, "The Way of the King." [35] The route was used long before the iron age, and later by caravans seeking iron and manganese in the Sinai peninsula. By some strange circumstance not yet clearly worked out by research, suggestive names that could not have been accidentally coined by late scribes, either Hebrew or Babylonian, point back to a period fairly well known to historians. The setting of the drama is Amoritic intrusion and Elamite invasion in Palestine.

Using Tradition.—The biblical narrative moves in logical order, unfolding the story of the patriarchs in a semi-biographical form. It must always be kept in mind

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before Hammurabi's accession. If the Sumerian values are given to the signs, *Eri-É-a-ku* is a possible reading, suggesting Biblical Arioch.

[33] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 324.

[34] It has been suggested that any Chederlaomer that the historian knows could not be the one allied with Hammurabi or Amraphel, but rather the two men represent different periods, and Genesis 14 would be a blending of several strands of tradition. Yet undoubtedly the accession of Hammurabi to the throne of Babylon, first dynasty, entailed the repulse of Elamite power. Kudurlakhmal's attack upon Hammurabi's city might be a part of the struggle that estranged former allies and made Hammurabi king and founder of the first dynasty. No dogmatic conclusions can possibly be given. Even chronologies have to be revised.

[35] *Bulletin, American Schools of Oriental Research,* No. 35, p. 10 ff.

that such traditional material contains, in addition to germinal elements of historical value, vast stores of fragmentary ethnic, social, economic, religious, and story items. The individual stories clustering about a character are not so important as recorded biography, but the type of story is often so distinct that it clearly reveals the person.[36]

Genealogy.—The habit of designating tribes by a leader's name[37] easily gave rise to genealogies. Thus Milcah is called the daughter of Haran, though Haran is a place name, which in turn may have derived from a tribe or the untraceable leader of such a tribe. Genesis 10 and 11 are filled with personal names, fathers and sons, which research reveals as whole tribes or settlements. The primitive Semite continually merged the individual into the group. Any attempt to reconstruct family trees out of biblical genealogies is doomed to raise an inevitable and unnecessary conflict between the Bible and sober research. The Bible gives a general plot concerning persons and races, but details must be read from silent testimony of unearthed fragments.

HOW DID THEY BEHAVE?

Sacred Sites.—Even assuming that Abraham was on the verge of a new religious concept, he was a child of his age. He preferred to pitch camp near sacred spots. An oak at Moreh (the Oak of Oracle or Divination); a high hill at Bethel (*Bêth*, "house" and *'el*, "god," hence the House of God); or a clump of oaks at Mamre (from a root meaning "to speak," hence the Oaks of the Oracle); or an oasis of seven[38] wells (the sacred number) at Beersheba[39] —these were the favored spots.

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[36] The stories that adhere to the names of Washington and Lincoln are typical, and differ even as the men differed. Even if some of them are a bit fanciful, they are true as to type and could be used by the student of character.

[37] Note modern Arab custom. Benê Hassan, "sons of Hassan," applied to the entire group.

[38] The same Hebrew word means an oath—well of the oath. See Gen. 26:28-33.

[39] Blaikie, *Manual of Bible History*, p. 63, note.

Nomad Life.—Abraham's travels are the typical drift of the semi-nomad trader. Many of the place names are Middle Bronze Age sites, a partial testimony to the age of the patriarchal saga, for if the Abraham stories were entirely later Iron Age fiction, characteristic names of the period would be incorporated. The clan moves, settles, and moves again. At various sites the patriarch builds an altar, acting as high priest in his own household. His religion has touches of the cults of the day, the divine name *'El* predominating and the Covenant or *b'rîth* idea as an undercurrent. There is no trace of the later restrictions recorded in the priestly writings (Ex. 20; Nu. 3; 1 Chron. 23).

An Egypt Cycle.—One of the periodic famines of Palestine sends these folk to Egypt, where Abraham plays a trick upon Pharaoh to save his own life. This episode appears several times in biblical story, indicating that the Bible grew out of many sources or strands of narrative each with its own geographical and personal names. Thus after trouble and due repentance in Egypt, Abraham is represented as repeating the same deception upon Abimelek (Gen. 20:7-16)—a rather sad comment upon the intelligence of such a leader. In Genesis 26:1-17 the story is again told, this time with Abimelek a Philistine king (presumably an Aegean with a Semitic name long before the Philistines were in Palestine!) and Isaac the offender, Rebekah the innocent bagatelle in the deception. It is quite evident that Abraham, Isaac, Abimelek, and old famine cycles of stories became intertwined in the long centuries of transmission. This in no way invalidates the great religious truths in the stories, nor their valuable revelation of known conditions and customs. It is a good example of the necessity of focusing literary spectacles upon the Bible even when reconstructing historical background.

Abraham and Lot.—The story of Abraham and Lot also contains many germs of righteous meditation. Lot is self-centered; Abraham magnanimous. Lot goes in the direction of bad company; the tendency is as destructive as the act. These values would stand regardless of further investigation. However, it is now known that the Jordan valley was a populous region until the Early Iron Age (II) after the tenth century. In Roman and Byzantine times Zoar was still a village name at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Little oases dot the region, many with Bronze Age mounds[40] testifying to an ancient sedentary population, easily falling into luxury and vice. Broken shards and ancient flints show that these settlements were existent from the middle of the third millennium until the 19th century B.C.[41]

Cities of the Plain.—The so-called Cities of the Plain have been eagerly sought.[42] Some think they lie under the Dead Sea, as the level has been rising.[43] Sodom and Gomorrah may never be found, but the tradition remains. The grim, repulsive tale of the degenerate inhabitants is one of those bits of biblical narrative that might seem foreign to a book of religion, until one remembers that it is the objective of such a book to serve as a guide. As such, the Bible must be a record of what happens when men have contact with God, and also what happens when they refuse that contact. The destruction of these vice centers is dramatically told in the Bible, and as dramatically suggested in the tortured geologic remains in this region. Even the crystalline salt formations make it easy to understand primitive childlike imagination embellishing some actual catastrophe with the eerie story of Lot's wife.

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[40] Père Mallon, *Bibliotheca Sacra,* 1924, 271-275, found a remarkable site about 500 feet above the Dead Sea on the plain of ed-Dra. Here were pre-historic graves, a fortress, early bronze pottery, and ancient flints. Spindle whorls, hand mills, utensils, showed that this was a fortified gil-gal or cult festival center where inhabitants of the hot valley came to celebrate religious rites and also to bury some of their dead in the cooler location. There would be no reason for the hill men to bury here. The spot was accessible from the valley, and evidently the fort was to keep out the hill men. The stone work showed the hands of town builders rather than nomads, and these town builders evidently came from populous centers, from Cities of the Plain. See *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* VI, 62 ff.; Kyle, *Explorations at Sodom;* Cooke, *Schweich Lectures,* 1925, p. 91.

[41] It has been suggested that the sudden break in history here was due to some cataclysm as reflected in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.

[42] Notably by Kyle and Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* No. 14; *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* VI, 56 ff.; and Kyle, *Explorations at Sodom.*

[43] The oasis of the Seil en-Numeirah is all but buried and at Zoar no traces of pre-Christian occupation now exist, but probably the village moved up as water encroached, submerging the older site. Albright, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

It is only fair to note that many sincere scholarly investigators contend that much of this biblical lore of a childlike people was partly suggested by place names, wells, trees, volcanic regions, salt deposits, and varied natural phenomena that demanded some kind of explanation.[44] Just where to draw the line between fact and fancy is difficult.

The Promise.—Connected with the numerous covenant episodes came the promise of an own son to Abraham. The story has varied aspects (see Gen. 13, 15 and 17), probably explained by the fact that the Judeans had their version (often designated the J, Judean, Jahvistic or southern), the Israelites another (often designated E, Ephraimitic, Elohistic or northern), both of which were later dove-tailed, as found in the English Bible, into a continuous narrative supplemented by the priestly editors (designated as P or priestly strand).[45]

Ancient Hurrian Law.—Abraham's strange statement to the Lord that if he has no son, Eliezer of Damascus will be the heir, reminds one of Hurrian documents at Nuzi showing a debtor adopting the creditor so that he might become a clan member,—a legal fiction to avoid the old law that land could not pass out of the possession of the clan. Had Abraham loaned to Eliezer, only to be caught in legal meshes whereby the foster son threatened to inherit? Or had Eliezer loaned to the patriarch, thus entangling his title? Or was it all the simpler nomadic situation of an adopted son for the purpose of guaranteeing clan solidarity after the patriarch's death?[46]

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[44] *Cf.* the Greek and Amerindian nature myths. Similarly, the Arabs explain the origin of their fat-tailed sheep.

[45] More complete discussion of these strata or documents of the Pentateuch will be incorporated at the points where they correlate with Hebrew history. Consult: Eiselen, *Books of the Pentateuch;* Willett, *The Bible Through the Centuries;* Knott, *Students' History of the Hebrews;* Smythe, *Old Documents and the New Bible;* Dinsmore, *The English Bible as Literature;* Trattner, *Unravelling the Book of Books.*

[46] *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* Nos. 18-42; *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* VI, 75-92; X, 1-73.

Hagar and Hammurabi.—The custom of a childless wife designating a slave girl as secondary wife was a common practice. Hagar evidently felt honored as the mother of Ishmael, son of a patriarch. In the Hammurabi code such a woman jeopardized her status by considering herself on a par with the chief wife.[47] This old Semitic law may partially explain the apparent cruelty of both Sarah and Abraham in driving Hagar from the tent.

Neither an arrangement with Eliezer, nor the birth of Ishmael satisfied Abraham's desire for a son. There is pathos in the lonely sacrifice and vigil depicted in Genesis 15:9-18, where the old patriarch awaits the presence of his God, the pieces of the sacrifice cut and in due order upon the altar. A camera might not have caught a picture, but to Abraham a vision of a lambent flame flickering between the pieces was very real. His God was there, symbolized in the fire. Again the voice of promise assured him of destiny and posterity.

The Three Strangers.—There are human interest features in the Bible that must not be ignored, or the reader loses both message and interest. The visit of the three men who proved to be messengers of God is a cross-section of nomadic hospitality. Abraham takes these messengers in as ordinary men. They are not winged angels (*angeloi*) but Hebraic *mal'akîm* or messengers. The *mal'ak* or "agent" of God in older sections of the Old Testament seems sometimes to be associated with persons, sometimes with forces or not-understood powers. The essential element is *agency,* with no obfuscating arguments about form, attributes, natural or supernatural.[48] In this sense, the Divine spirit might use various *mal'akîm* or agencies—a very suggestive religious idea.

These men, entertained in true nomad lavishness, meanwhile promise the coveted son, provoking Sarah's ill-timed laughter, which was later symbolized in the name, Isaac, supposedly related to a Hebrew word meaning "to laugh." Three explanations of the name are given; that Sarah laughed when the three strange messengers of God promised a son (Gen. 18:12); that Abraham laughed when God (El Shaddai) promised the son (Gen. 17:17); and that Sarah laughed when the son was born (Gen. 21:6). Considering that all ancient Semitic names had definite meaning, it is not surprising that many a twist in story plot hinges upon names. The patriarch is first Abram, Exalted Father (*'ab* "father," *râm* "high"), then in honor of God's covenant he is called Abraham, Father of a Multitude.[49] Sarah was first Sarai, a Hebrew root with an ancient feminine ending, signifying a female ruler, hence "Princess." Her new name suggests a root meaning "to strive," and appears again in Israel, literally *yiS-RA-el*, the new name given Jacob after his all-night struggle at the Jabbok (Gen. 32:24 ff.).

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[47] Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* p. 431, Art. 145, 146; Harper, *Hammurabi Code.*

[48] The traditional angel figures are largely Persian, with some Babylonian elements.

Early Trade.—The way Abraham, typical *sôḫer* or trader, wheedles the dignified messengers (*mal'akîm*) to save Sodom if fifty, forty-five, forty, thirty, twenty, or even ten righteous persons are found therein, is a miniature volume on human nature. So too is the purchase of the cave of Machpelah as a tomb for the beloved Sarah. Oriental courtesy prevails as the nomad chieftain haggles with the villagers. The Hittites would not think of exacting pay; Abraham offhandedly designates Ephron's field; Ephron refuses to name a price; Abraham insists; Ephron is reluctant to bicker over a gift of land,—worth 400 shekels of silver! Abraham weighs out the metal, before village witnesses, metal of specific fineness current with the merchants. Even the mellow grief over the loss of his aged helpmate could not wholly dampen the ardor of the inveterate Semitic *sôḫer*.

The Wooing of Rebekah.—The securing of Isaac's wife furnishes another chapter replete with sociological and human interest. Abraham specifically commands that the girl be sought in the old home land, Amurru, among the relatives at Haran. He likewise demands that she be brought south, into the new environment where his son has grown up amid Palestinian surroundings. He reposes absolute confidence in the servant. The oath is one of the most sacred that a primitive Semite could take.

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[49] This approaches a possible Arabic form. *Abî-râm*, *Abû-raḫam* and *Ab-ruḫm* are Semitic name forms that may lie back of Abraham.

The servant, with a huge present, devoutly seeks divine guidance through a sign (Gen. 24:12-20). The inevitable hospitality of the age brings him to the maiden's home, where negotiations ensue. Though parents arrange the marriage, the girl is consulted. In a world where women were generally mere chattels, it is interesting to note that the Hebrew concept of womanhood tended to move on a higher plane, and the ultimate emancipation of womanhood came through Hebraic sources. The story of Rebekah delightfully enfolds a primitive spark of gallantry that could reach perfection in the attitude of Hosea or Jesus.

Sacrificing Isaac.—The attempted sacrifice of Isaac, the precious son, the chief treasure, was a strange blending of faith and ancient cults. Pre-semitic Palestine was dotted with sanctuaries, and infant sacrifice was practiced. Remembering the Hebrew psychology—that to have a deep conviction is to hear a divine voice—it is small wonder that a devout religionist might feel that surrounding pagans were outstripping him in devotion through the offering of their children. On a sacred hill top, Moriah,[50] the deed was all but accomplished. A *mal'ak yahweh*, Messenger of God, intervened, though this time the agency is not pictured as man or winged creature but simply as a voice. One feels that the divine command and the voice of the *mal'ak* were part of a genuine call to higher things echoing through the corridors of Abraham's consciousness. Human sacrifice became foreign to Hebraic religion, except when periodically intruded through later contacts with other cults.[51] The persistent tradition was that this fine concept was almost as old as the basic *berîth*.

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[50] Literally, "Revelation of Jah" (Jehovah). A Syriac text places this episode in the land of the Amorites (Amurru). Jewish tradition has identified Moriah with the ancient rock under the dome of the Mosque of Omar, on the Solomonic temple site in Jerusalem.

More Genealogy.—The Abraham story closes with a list of descendents (Gen. 25:1-4, 12-18) some of which are readily recognizable as tribal or place names, such as Midian, Asshur, Têmâ (Arabian Tiema?), and Kedemah. Only years of archaeological research and sifting of evidence will straighten out the biblical genealogies, but an inter-relation of these restless peoples is undoubtedly true to fact. The Bible has preserved the essence of it, if not the scientific detail.

The biblical genealogies indicate what modern research has proved, *i.e.* that Jacob-Israel represents but a limited portion of all the inter-related tribes. Moab and Ammon, for instance, are of the old pre-Israelite stock, but as sons of Lot through incest (Gen. 19) they are related to Israel, —and royally hated. Midian is of Abraham, as is also Ishmael to whom the modern Arabs trace their lineage. This would account for the apparent anomaly of Hebrews meeting Hebrews when certain Israel clans invade Palestine after the Exodus. It would also explain the statement often made that not all the Hebrews went to Egypt. Ethnically, the term Hebrew is more inclusive than Israel; practically, "Hebrew history" generally denotes Israelitish history. It might also reconcile apparently conflicting data as to the time of Hebrew entrance into Palestine, thus affecting the date of the Exodus, the conquest, and Joshua.

The Isaac Cycle.—The story of Isaac is the story of an average man. He never does anything exciting. His is the life of a peaceful, honest man, such as could be used by the biblical historian as an ideal for later generations. The Isaac material is chiefly a framework for the stupendous Jacob-Israel cycle of tradition that is one of the outstanding literary heritages of the world. These old narratives moved in story cycles as definite as the contents of a book, recited for centuries around camp fire and tent.

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[51] There must be some reason that the traditions, except for the Jephthah story, notably move contrary to a common Semitic practice. Later prophets, however, indicate that cult practices were sometimes indulged but the genius of Hebraism was against such forms. Note the case of the Moabite king, 2 Kings 3:27, Micah 6:7, and Manasseh's pagan reaction. See Lods, *Israel,* p. 285.

Local Color.—Of course, there are human interest elements here, some of which are duplications of the Abraham deception stories.[52] Abimelek is the king involved. Struggles over the wells (Gen. 26:15-25) must have keenly amused the listeners as the early Hebrew story teller recalled the names—how at the end of a gruelling dig, Abimelek's herdsmen stole the water so Isaac's men dubbed the well, *‘Eseq* "Hard Work";[53] and again when a second well was raided, they named it *Siṭnah*, "Lest We Forget";[54] and at last a third well was finished and Abimelek's herdsmen let it alone, so it was called *Reḫôbhôth* "Plenty Room." [55] Such significant names remind one of early days of the American gold rush of 1849.[56] There was raw humor in the crude appellations.

The section in which this is told leads up to the naming of the famous oasis, Beersheba. There are probably three versions blended: Gen. 21:25-26, 28-30, 32-34; Gen. 21:22-24, 27; and Gen. 26:15-33. Two meanings of *sheba‘* are involved, made possible by the fact that *sheba‘* means seven, but also signifies an oath.[57] Two of them involve Abraham; one Isaac. Verses 15 and 18 of Genesis 26 are clearly a late editor's insertion, harmonizing the Isaac story with the previous statement that Abraham had dug the wells.[58]

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[52] Compare the plot of the stories in Gen. 21 and Gen. 26. The Abimelek cycle is Palestinian in locale, but has two touches of Egyptian influence. In 26:26, Abimelek is accompanied by Ahuzzath, from an Egyptian root meaning "vizier" and by Phikol, Egyptian *p-kh-r* (with *r* changing to *l*), which means a "traveller" (trader?) or Palestinian. It looks as though there might be some genuine Egyptian background for the original narrative.

[53] From a Hebrew root meaning "to contend"; in late Hebrew and the Targums, *q.v.*, it often means "to be busy," "to work."

[54] From a root meaning "to accuse," hence the idea of the well being a permanent accusation of injustice.

[55] The root means "to be wide," "roomy."

[56] Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Joaquin Miller and others made apt use of odd and humorous western names in their writings.

[57] Seven was a sacred number. To take oath was literally "to seven."

[58] This whole episode of the well digging has sometimes been considered an old pre-Hebrew local Canaanite story which was taken over and affixed to Hebrew heroes. See Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History*, 79, note.

Isaac a Transition.—In any case, the Isaac cycle was probably never large. It was bound to overlap both Abraham and Jacob cycles, in the birth story, and then in the Jacob-Esau episode. The Isaac story could be chanted by itself, but it served better as a transition from the story of Abraham, father of the faith, to that of Jacob, father of the faithful.

WHAT CAN BE GOTTEN FROM THE JACOB AND JOSEPH STORIES?

Jacob a Character Study.—The story of Jacob is a volume on character building. Drawn from old traditions and written down centuries after the events,[59] it seems more than coincidence that the writers have recorded heredity and environment factors that coördinate on a fairly scientific pattern.

Jacob and Esau, twins, are depositories of the family traits. Jacob has the keen mind of Abraham, but his ethics are as easy-going as Isaac's summer afternoons. He is clever, but unprincipled until he has fooled and been fooled to the point of realizing his peril. (Note later on his meeting with Esau, Gen. 32-33.)

Esau is the drifter, peaceful as Isaac, a capable herdsman but lacking ambition. Tradition makes him the ancestor of the Edomites, the hated Idumeans of Herod's day, living far down in the south country, herding, tilling the oases, and occasionally levying tribute on passing caravans. It was a hard, unprogressive life. Deep in a narrow gorge where nature has painted the cliffs with rainbow hues, Petra, the city cut from solid rock, still lies a silent witness to Edom's better days.[60]

Permanent Values.—The ethical values in these stories crystallize early in the cycle in the birthright episode. Esau, a hunter and out-door man, whines for food after a day's jaunt. Delay would be fatal to his rugged constitution! Jacob schemes; Esau barters a priceless thing. Both were wrong. The ancient birthright included more than first claim to tribal leadership and property; it carried with it the aged father's blessing. Even today a death-bed request is often especially honored. From a medical standpoint the patient is probably incompetent, but since early days men have felt that at the time of death the veil is pulled aside and the dying glimpse the future.

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[59] See p. 237; also Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament.*
[60] Robinson, *Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization.*

Often a bit of psychology assists in interpreting the Bible. Whether dying patriarchs became clairvoyant or not, it is quite likely that a son, believing intently in the validity of the blessing would be spurred or retarded in his life to the point of quite literal fulfillment. The ancient world might explain it one way and the modern another, but the results would be the same—a definite career-pattern for the recipient.

When Esau sold off his right, he mortgaged the future. He lacked a sense of values. A day's hunger was bigger than a life-time success. Jacob's scale of values was distorted as badly, but his was a moral distortion that made a day's chance bigger than a life-time regret.

The Bethel Episode.—Rebekah also showed the family traits. Loving Jacob, the end justified the means. Deceiving a blind husband and father was all in the day's work. With fear of both father and brother in his heart, Jacob set out for Haran, the ancestral home in the Westland.[61] But even the solemn moment at Bethel could not quench his craft. The night was dark, the country strange. The hardness of the stone pillow combined with a twilight glimpse of the rocky terraces of the hills about him.[62] He dreamed of a stairway and angels, and God's promise.

In the morning the country looked safer. As a child of his time, Jacob performed the simple ceremony of symbolic sacrifice. To kill and burn an animal on an altar left the top of the altar stained and oily; hence, an oily pillar could be symbolic of the sacrificial act, even though the act were not performed. Naturally a traveller could not carry a flock of sacrificial animals with him, but he could carry a cruse of oil. Jacob set up a stone, poured oil on it, and having thus completed his primitive devotions he made his bargain with God—ten per cent of the subsequent income if the Lord would only see him through this adventure and prosper him. At best, it was a minimum risk. A bad night had not dulled his cleverness.

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[61] See Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions*, and *Amurru, Home of the Northern Semites.*
[62] See relief map of Palestine; Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

A Battle of Wits.—Far up in Haran, where the exiled Jacob seeks his uncle, both play the game of craft. His love for Rachel is beautiful, but back of it two wily Amorites pit their wits. Uncle Laban is experienced. There is grim humor in the fourteen years' work he squeezes out of this cunning nephew, aside from the crowning achievement of a devoted father getting his eldest girl properly married off.

The score is evened up when an expert cattle breeder, son-in-law Jacob, marches off with the best of the herd, two wives, his children, and Laban's household gods or *teraphîm*. Jacob and Rachel (according to the story she was a daughter of her father in craftiness) were in line with the legal practice of the day. Haran was an old Hurrian center. A Hurrian text from Arrapha[63] shows that the possession of the household gods by a son-in-law made him legitimate heir to the estate of the wife's father.[64] Jacob and Rachel expected much more than magic from those *teraphîm*; they were a guarantee of inheritance!

Sordid, tragic, yet humorous, and withal quite just is the sequence of events. Tradition may have embellished, but psychologically and archaeologically the Jacob cycle stands fairly close inspection.[65]

The Crisis of Character.—The meeting with Esau is the climactic moment in this mighty biblical drama. It is a tense picture of what Jacob needed to learn—that sins come home to roost. As he journeys southward to the fringe of Esau’s sheep range, Jacob visualizes Esau as vengeful as he, Jacob, would be were he the one robbed of the birthright. Through his own spectacles he sees the world as a reflection of himself.

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[63] Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 130, *et passim*.
[64] *Ibid.*, 162 n.
[65] Church, *The Israel Saga*.

In abject fear, Jacob still preserved his craftiness. The dividing of his caravan was topped by consummate salesmanship. Imagine the effect of a string of herdsmen arriving before Esau at intervals, each chanting his lines as prompted by his master, “. . . a present sent unto my lord Esau, and behold Jacob comes just behind us!” Esau bore no ill will. His easy-going, unambitious nature was right this time. He had wealth, and contentment. Jacob was a brother. It would be a great night in the desert tents of Esau. The presents were unnecessary, but the wily Jacob never suspected that, so the herdsmen piled gift upon gift!

With his worldly goods and family safely over the Jabbok, Jacob kept a lonely vigil that night—at least until the strange antagonist wrestled with him. No one will ever know just what occurred. The Bible pictures an unknown man. He is not even designated by the term *malʿak* (messenger or angel) but by the simple term *’îsh* (man). He makes no claims for himself; it is Jacob who later applies the name *Peni’êl,* Face of God, to the spot.[66] All we know is that Jacob struggled. It may be that as he stumbled about in the darkness, pacing back and forth, revolving in his own mind the years of deceit and selfishness, he injured his thigh and bore henceforth the physical marks of his spiritual struggle. Others feel that his overwrought state made him struggle with a shadowy form that wrenched body and mind, resulting in the phenomenon of stigmata or psychic scars.[67] Brokenly he calls upon the opponent to bless him. This time it is not property, but character that he seeks. No longer is he to be *Ya'-qob*, "Deceiver," but *Yis-ra-'el*, "Prince of God." [68] Many objective stories in the Old Testament are primitive, child-like ways of depicting mental crises; many of the names are symbolized plots of a whole drama.

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[66] Two folk traditions are blended here, for in the next verse the name is given as *Penu’el.*

[67] The stigmata or psychic marks caused by deep emotion were often, in the Middle Ages, associated with the religious devotees whose concentrated fixation on the wounds of Christ resulted in pain or surface markings corresponding to the thorn pricks or nail holes. St. Francis was supposed to be so marked. Twenty-nine cases were listed during the nineteenth century. Of special note was the case of Anna Emmerich

Primitive Crudities.—Just before the Bible narrator takes up the Joseph stories he introduces incidents that are typical of a frank, naïve people. Like the genealogies, these risque incidents represent traditional relations and mingling of the Palestinian clans, providing a popular explanation of some of the alliances and enmities of later years. A critical examination of the text reveals that there is a blending of many strands of folk-lore, so that allowance must be made for the mingling of a minimum of actual history with a maximum of literary creation.

The Joseph Drama.—The Joseph stories are so well known and have been used so much that there is little need of recounting the plot. They are full of flash-light pictures of the times and customs. One's sympathy is with the brothers as this pampered favorite of an aged father goes about recounting his dreams and gathering brotherly gossip to tattle at home. To the later Hebrews these tales always represented the repeated promise or covenant of Jehovah with His people, but that does not remove the irritating effect upon the brothers. It is no wonder that they sold Joseph to a caravan of Midianite traders.

The Historical Problem.—The historical Joseph is an elusive figure, even though the name, "Joseph-el" [69] appears in Egyptian inscriptions, as does "Jacob-el," [70] and the "Field of Abraham," [71] suggesting the possibility that

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(1824) and Louise Lateau of Bois d'Haine, Belgium (1883).—From *New Standard Encyclopedia*; also see Cutten, *Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*.

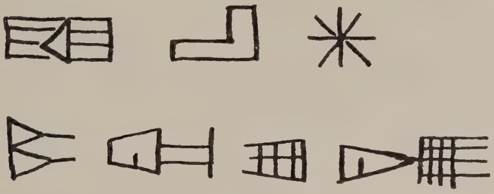
[68] The name involves two possible Hebrew roots; (a) *'aqab*, "to defraud"; so Jacob's original appellation was quite apt, "Fraud"; (b) *sarâ*, "to prevail," hence "to be a prince"; adding *'el* "god," suggests either striving with God, or "Prince of God." Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History*, p. 118, note *r* prefers the latter.

[69] In the form *Ya-sha-p'-ra* (*r* for *l*) in inscription of Thutmose III.

[70] *Ya-'-q-b'-ra*, in inscription of Thutmose III, but Yaqub-ilu was father of several witnesses to Babylonian documents in the reign of Apil-Sin, 2161-2144 B.C., Sin-muballit, and Hammurabi.

[71] In the record of Sheshonk's raid, about 937 B.C.

these names come from actual persons associated with the region. These popular Hebrew names probably go back into and beyond original Hurrian beginnings, inducing some scholars to maintain that the Hebrew stories are almost wholly without foundation—borrowed myths,[73] a conclusion which does not necessarily follow.



Ancient seal thought by some to read *IS-RI-IL DUMU RÊŠ-ZU-NI-GE,* i.e. Israel, son of Rêsh-zuni. There is some question about the second and third signs.[72]

Legendary Elements.—The familiar plot of the Joseph cycle is old, a mixture of ancient literary effort and confusing cult elements. The ancient world often deified heroes, or reversed the process and called deities their ancestors. A real Jacob or Joseph might well become enmeshed in cult sagas.[74] Joseph's casting into the pit or cistern;[75] his temptation in Egypt; even his "coat of many colors" (Hebrew *kethoneth passîm* or vestment of a devotee),[76] all suggest the old Tammuz legend,[77] the Kombabos cult,[78] and the famous Egyptian yarn of "The Two Brothers."[79] His wife is Asenath, Egyptian *As-Neit,* "Favorite of Neith," daughter of Potiphera, a priest of On. At Shechem an ancient fertility cult deified a Yasuf

[72] Noted by Barton, G. A., *Archaeology and the Bible,* 4th rev. ed., p. 326. Published by Scheil in *Revue d'Assyriologie,* Vol. xiii, pp. 5 ff.

[73] On this consult *International Standard Biblical Encyclopaedia* under various patriarchal terms.

[74] Extended discussion of this by Albright appears in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXVII, 1918, pp. 111 ff.

[75] Here is the idea of a buried and resurrected god, so common in the various fertility cults.

[76] This tunic was characteristic of temple devotees, especially the eunuchs. It has been suggested that Jacob dressed Joseph "like a girl" so as to keep him at home and away from the dangers of the sterner manly activities of the time.

[77] Clay, *Origin of Biblical Tradition;* Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible; Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXVI, p. 100.

[78] Lucian, *Dea Syria,* 27.

[79] See Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 326 ff.

figure.[80] It is easy to see how an academic theory might be built up, making the biblical Joseph a combination of religious mythology and good story telling. Naturally, Hebrew writers in appropriating such material would make it personal and Hebraic.

Historical Elements.—The historical background of Joseph is the Hyksos regime. These conquerors of Egypt, about 1788 B.C., were a part of that continuous flow of peoples from the Anatolian region. They are supposed to have been strongly Semitized, holding sway in southern Palestine and Egypt. Manetho gave the name "Hyksos" (Egyptian *ḫk-a-ha-swt* or "foreign ruler" corrupted to *ḫk-a-sa-sw* or "nomad ruler"), hence Shepherd King. Among their kings appears the name *"Yaqob-ḫar,"* equivalent to the previously noted *"Yaqob-el."* This does not make the biblical Jacob a Hyksos prince, but it indicates the possible prominence of such a Semite.

These Hyksos controlled southern Palestine and Egypt for several centuries. At Tell Fara, eighteen miles south of the old Philistine city of Gaza, twenty-four Hyksos tombs have been discovered. At Tell Beit Mirsim[81] (biblical Kirjath-sepher?), heavy walls of Hyksos type, steatite Hyksos scarabs, gaming pieces,[82] and a serpent goddess[83] have been dug up. Significantly, the Hyksos materials disappear at a level indicating the overthrow of this power by Ahmose I, about 1560 B.C.

These shepherds were "an abomination unto the Egyptians" (Gen. 46:34), but the situation illuminates the acceptance of the Jacob clans by the pharaoh and the allotment of the Goshen territory to them (Gen. 46-47). The scene in court when the aged patriarch, reeking of the sheepfold, by the law of the desert a prince in his own right, and honored by virtue of great age and numerous progeny, calmly blesses Pharaoh, may not be prosaic history, but it conserves a distinctly Semitic point of view and fine literary climax.

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[80] Joseph was buried there, and this seems to accord with the *Ya-sha-p'-ra* near Mt. Ephraim mentioned by Thutmose III. See *Journal of Biblical Literature, supra;* and Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth,* 429.

[81] *Bulletin of American Society of Oriental Research,* No. 39.

[82] These consisted of five three-cornered and five conical faience pieces and an ivory die; the game must have resembled backgammon.

[83] The serpent cult was wide-spread in Palestine. In fact, it is one of the most common pre-historic cults. Note later how Moses set up a serpent fetish to cure plague. Hebrew religion was prone to absorb such elements from neighbors. Lods, *Israel,* 246, 362, 429; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 124, 153.

Summary.—Granting that the Egyptian names appearing in this section could be tenth century B.C. and admitting that a patriotic scribe of Solomon's day (when Egypt and Israel were closely bound politically) might have polished up the tradition to the glory of both Semite and Egyptian, the fact still remains that Semites in Egypt, Semitic officials,[84] periodic famines,[85] and movement of Palestinian groups into and out of Egypt, are a part of the known historical picture. It may have been only the Rachel tribes that were really concerned in the biblical account.[86] Whatever the original facts, the biblical narrative is worthy of consideration as a mixed historico-literary unit. In addition, it will always carry the keen and sometimes humorous side-lights on the frailties of human nature and the corresponding illustrations of solid virtue and religious faith.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Would there be any religious value in the Abraham stories if he were proven mythical? (Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 131, 143; Kent, HCEHH, pp. 78, 84, 90, 94, 101; STPJ, III; Thoms, FOTF, VII.)
2. How could God "call" someone today?

a. Does analysis of a work of art, music, or literature decrease one's appreciation?

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[84] Letters from Amoritic kings to a Semitic vizier in Egypt about 1400 B.C. have been found. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 329-331.

[85] A Ptolemaic inscription cut on a rock between Elephantine and the first cataract recounts a seven-year famine in the reign of King Zoser, 2900 B.C. Again, about 1500 B.C., a certain Baba at El-Kab tells of famine and his preparation for it. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, I, 303 ff.

[86] Scholars have long recognized that the so-called twelve tribes are not always sharply defined in the Bible, nor can they be kept within strict chronological or geographical limitations. This has led to the tentative explanation that the confusion grows out of bickering *'Ibrî* of different periods, and this quarrelling in turn is read back to the family dissensions of multiple wives and concubines. Thus the Leah tribes might have stayed in Palestine while the Rachel tribes descended into Egypt. Or one branch might have left Egypt when the Hyksos were expelled, the other group remaining only to flee oppression years later. It is certain that the Biblical narrative itself does not warrant the picture of a unified group of Hebrews going into a Hebrew-less Palestine. *Cf.* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, Chap. IV; Lods. *Israel*, 391-392; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 462.

b. If you were editing, would you now omit parts of the Bible?
c. What trustworthy data may be preserved in idealized portraits of heroes? (Church, IS, pp. 47-49, 96-97; Wild, LGB, pp. 94-96.)
d. Is human nature sufficiently common to explain similarities in the the hero stories of different peoples?
e. Have unschooled minds produced great ideas?

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3. Is obedience in itself a virtue? Does it open or close one's mind?
4. Does the Bible sanction polygamy?
5. Would God have to use angels to help Him?
6. What benefit or pleasure have you derived from new light on the customs and times of Abraham?
7. What positive religious ideas have been portrayed in these stories that might be usable today?
8. Is one religion as good as another?

f. Do family traits affect life more than training?
g. Should a good citizen or pupil report the misdeeds of others?
h. Is it true that we get out of life what we put into it?
i. Are great men ahead of their times?
j. From the standpoint of plot, characterization and aims, do you find this literature comparable to other classics that you know?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Family institutions among the Semites. (Barton, SSO; Kent, STPJ, I-II; Lods, I, pp. 190-207; Smith, W. R., KM; Soares, SIIB; Wallis, SSB; Wild, EHP, pp. 168-169, 177-185.)
2. The world of 2000 B.C. (Baikie, SP; LAE, II, VII, VIII; Bailey & Kent, HHC, I; Breasted, HE; Hall, AHNE; Lods, I, pp. 43-46; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 30-57; Smith, S., EHA; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH, XIV-XV and p. 142.)
3. Sodom and the cities of the plain. (Albright, APB, pp. 48, 133; Kent, HCEHH, pp. 87-89; Kyle, ES; Ann. of ASOR, VI, pp. 56 ff.; Bull. of ASOR, No. 14; Hasting's Dict. of the Bible; Encyclopedic ref.)
4. Idealized heroes of other peoples. (Clay, OBT; Holliday, DL; Reinach, O; Wild, LGB.)
5. Evidences of human sacrifice in Canaanite cults. (Frazer, GB; Lods, I; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 168; de Prorok, DLAG; Wild, EHP.)

a. The Jordan valley in the Bronze Age. (Albright, APB, pp. 48, 62, 68, 132 ff.; Kent, BGH, VI and p. 81; Libbey and Hoskins, JVP; Ann. ASOR, VI, pp. 13-74.)
b. The Elamites. (Dougherty, SAA, index; Smith, S., EHA; Speiser, MO, II; Encyclopedic sources.)
c. The Sumerian city state and its Patesi. (Baikie, LAE, VII; Barton, RISA; King, HSA; Smith, S., HA; Jl. Bib. Lit., L, Pt. III, p. 160.)
d. The cult of standing stones in Palestine and Great Britain. (Cook,

RAP; Hammerton, WP; Lods, I, pp. 85-97; Macalister, CEP, V; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 122; Stevens, STY.)

e. Hittites in Palestine. (Barton, AB, Pt. II, XIV; Campbell, HIH; Cowley and Hogarth in Schweich Lectures; Garstang, H; McCown, GSG, index; Messerschmidt, H; von der Osten in Or. Inst. Bull.)

f. A dramatization of the Joseph story. (Church, IS, p. 168 et passim.)

g. Babylonian concepts of Marduk. (Atkins, PG, III; Jastrow, CBA, RBPBA; Olmstead, HA; Reinach, O, pp. 35 ff.; Rogers, CPOT.)

h. The life and work of the founder of one of the world's great religions. (Atkins, PG; Moore, HR; Soper, RM; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH.)

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6. The cults of Canaan. (Barton, AB, XI; SSO; Cook, RAP; Lods, I, pp. 83-142; Smith, RI; Smith, AS.)
7. Hammurabi's laws of inheritance. (Barton, AB; Harper, CH; Rogers, CPOT.)

CHAPTER III

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Get the background of Egyptian history under reigns of Hyksos kings, Thutmose III, and Amen-hotep IV. (Baikie, AA, ad lib., LAE, II-VI; Barton, AB, p. 126; Breasted, AT, III, HE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Olmstead, HPS, XII; Petrie, EI, index; Smith, EHA, p. 216; Tarbouis, PLT; Clarendon Bible, vol. II, pp. 1 ff.)
2. Use topically available encyclopedic sources, e.g. Abingdon Commentary, Hastings, Dict. of the Bible, Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc., Nelson's Cond. Bib. Enc.
3. Read the story of the discovery of the Amarna tablets, and if possible read the translation of Abdi-hepa's letters. (Baikie, AA, ad lib.; Barton, AB, Pt. II, XVII; Hall, AHNE, pp. 257, 301; Macalister, CEP, pp. 152 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 252-282; Clarendon Bible, vol. II, p. 13.)

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4. In order to get perspective read Ex. 1-15 as a unit; work it over according to instructions; then follow with Ex. 16-40, sketching rapidly the portion giving minute details of ceremonial laws. (cf. Oxford Helps, pp. 31, 35-36.)
5. Make an outline of the outstanding events recorded. (Kent. BHH, pp. 151-158; HCEHH, pp. 151-184; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, chap. V.)
6. Compare the parallel accounts given in Numbers and Deuteronomy, scanning lightly the ceremonial details. (Driver, ILOT, pp. 22-30; Kent, BHH, pp. 151-177; GCOT, pp. 23-25; Smith, OTH, IV.)
7. Read available references on the nature and composition of the book of Exodus. (Briggs, HCH, p. 148; Church, IS, pp. 185-193; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 143-152; Driver, ILOT, pp. 22 ff.; Eiselen, BP, chaps. IX, X; Kent, GCOT, pp. 23 ff.; Clarendon Bible, vol. II, pp. 57-61.)
8. Locate place names on map. (See map No. 2; Con. Bib. Enc., p. 164; Oxford Helps, Pl. 2.)

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9. Mark the Sinaitic trade routes; note the theories of the route of the Exodus and compare with map No. 2. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 37 ff.; Kent, HCEHH, pp. 182, 187; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 128, 227,

247; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 23; Petrie, EI, pp. 39-40; Smith, HGHL.)

10. Consider theories of the date of the Exodus. (Albright, APB, pp. 145-147; Jack, DE; Macalister, CEP, pp. 156-158; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 68-80; Olmstead, HPS, index; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 163-165; Oxford Helps, p. 329 n.)
 a. Review the history of Egypt from the Amarna period to Seti II. (Baikie, SP, index; Breasted, ARE, V; AT, pp. 93-96; HE, pp. 355-473; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, chap. V; Camb. Anc. Hist.)
 b. Familiarize yourself with the topography of the Sinaitic peninsula and the Suez region. (Cobern, REP, pp. 133 ff.; Doughty, AD; Oberhummer, in Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Inst., 1912, p. 669; Palmer, DE; Robinson, SAC, XVIII; Trumbull, KB.)
 c. Look up data on Midian, Kenites, and the name "Yahweh." (Clarendon Bible, vol. II, p. 46; Godbey, LTM, index under Yahu and YHWH; Heidel, DY, index; Lods, I, index; Olmstead, HPS, index; Smith, OTH, IV.)
 d. Note carefully the economic and social factors involved in this period; list the economic evils of Egypt; list the chief social customs portrayed in the exodus-wilderness narrative. (Breasted, HE; Kent, STPJ, I; McCown, GSG, pp. 111 ff., 198-202, 213-221, 250-255; Wild, EHP, pp. 171 ff.)
 e. Note carefully archaeological data touching this section; and study some of the ancient law codes. (Barton, AB, XII-XV; Clay, MI, pp. 18-27; Kent, ILLP, Introd. et passim; Luke and Keith-Roach, HPT.)

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11. Read Josh. 1-11 for story of the entrance into Canaan.
12. Mark on map the more important sites mentioned; and read extensively on the geography and topography of each. (Baedeker, PS; Kent, BGH, XIV; Smith, HGHL; Wild, GIOTM.)
13. Give special attention to any archaeological material available, especially on pre-Israelite Palestine, Jericho, Ai and Hazor. (Albright, in Bull. ASOR, No. 29, pp. 3 ff.; Barton, AB, XVIII; Garstang, JJ; Lods, I; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 129-132; Olmstead, HPS, XV; Petrie, EI, III.)
14. If pictures are available, start an illustrated notebook for the whole Joshua-Judges period, placing biblical references, historical and archaeological notes with each picture. (Underwood-Underwood Series; discarded Bibles or Church School literature.)

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15. Now read Josh. 12-24, noting the idealized tradition. (Church, IS, VIII; Lods, I, pp. 327-348; Smith, OTH, pp. 80-83.)
16. Follow suggestions in Nos. 12, 13, and 14 above, for this section.

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17. Read the book of Judges, noting the form and contents, as compared to Joshua. (Burney, BJ; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 160-165; Driver, ILOT, pp. 160-171; Kent, GCOT, pp. 25-27; McFadyen, MPPH, pp. 121 ff.)
18. Familiarize yourself with the detailed stories of at least two of the major judges. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, VI-VII; Lods, I, pp. 330-356; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, chap. VI; Petrie, EI, chap. IV.)
19. Again follow suggestions Nos. 12, 13, and 14 above, bringing notebook to date.

f. Consider the problem of the date of the conquest. (Badě, in JBL, L, Pt. II, 1931, pp. 9-14; Duncan, DBH, I, pp. 165 ff.; Garstang, JJ; Hall, AHNE, pp. 409 ff.; Lods, I, pp. 181-189; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 123; Olmstead, HPS; Oxford Helps, pp. 228-229.)

g. Study the possible date and authorship of the books of Joshua and Judges; compare the two books as sources of historical data of the settlement of Israel in Canaan. (Burney, BJ; Church, IS, VIII; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, pp. 17 ff.; Kent, GCOT, pp. 24-27; Smith, OTH, V-VI; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 53-56; Oxford Helps, pp. 38-39.)

h. Note the changing religious and social ideas as Israel contacts Palestinian life. (Cook, RAP; Crook, in JBL, L, Pt. III, pp. 156 ff.; Kent, STPJ, I-II; Lods, I, pp. 258 ff., also xiii; Soares, SIIB; Wallis, SSB; Wild, EHP, XX, XXI.)

The Formative Period

WHAT HAPPENED IN EGYPT?

After Joseph.—Between Joseph and Moses is a no-man's land of research that touches both the Exodus and the preceding events. A few main facts, however, should be kept in mind. Whatever may have been the relation of Joseph to the Hyksos regime, the expulsion of these hated Semitic rulers would be sure to alter Egyptian conditions.

The reign of Thutmose III witnessed an expansion of Egyptian power that touched the northern limits of Palestine. At Megiddo, the famed battlefield of the Esdraelon plain, scarabs of this monarch have been found. His list of conquered cities recorded on the walls of the great temple at Karnak shows that he penetrated into Mesopotamia. His reign inaugurated a period of wealth and power that was to make the eighteenth dynasty unique.

The Amarna Age.—As different as day from night was the subsequent reign of Amen-hotep IV, the heretic king. Not a warrior, but a youthful dreamer, his idea was too big for the times.[1] For some reason as yet unexplained,[2] he turned against the elaborate Egyptian polytheism and promoted a unified religion, a monotheism with the sun deity Aten supreme. His name, Amen-hotep (Amen is established) he changed to Ikhnaton (Aten is satisfied).[3] To blast the power of the Egyptian priesthood which opposed him he built a new capitol and religious center at Akhetaton, the modern Amarna, 200 miles down the river.

This so-called Amarna period has important bearing on the Old Testament, for it suggests monotheism as a factor in Egypt in the 14th century B.C. The inner circle of the ancient priesthood, intelligent, trained, but conservative and crafty, supported a crude polytheism for public consumption even though the true nature of deity was more or less known to them.[4] They were not dishonest. They knew the lethargy of the people. There was no need to start a religious riot when people could as well say their prayers to many gods. Monotheism was for the élite.

It is easy to see why Ikhnaton's rash experiment would arouse opposition. All but the Aten priests would lose money, power, and caste. His reform of theology and his sharing of enlightenment was but youthful foolhardiness in the eyes of the Theban hierarchy. Powerful coalitions of enemies sealed the doom of the reform, to be realized under Tut-ankh-amen.

This monotheism, however, suggests the story of Moses, reared in Pharaoh's household, educated at a priestly college at On, and hence possibly exposed to this inner light of the temple. Without minimizing the later Sinai experience (Ex. 20), it is possible that Moses contacted monotheism in his youthful career.[5] Certainly the doctrine was known.

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[1] Baikie, *The Amarna Age; Life of the Ancient East*, Chaps. III, VI.

[2] See Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, XIII; also Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen;* and Tarbouis, *Private Life of Tutankhamen.*

[3] It is interesting to note that when the magnificent objects of Tut-ankh-amen's tomb were uncovered, it was quite evident that his original name had been Tut-ankh-*aten.* The change was made when he turned against the reform, moved back to Thebes, and curried favor with the Amen priests.

[4] The customary view was to interpret the many deities as aspects of the one Power. The Babylonian priests show a similar tendency in a text noted by Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 192-194. See also Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 165.

Revolt in the Provinces.—Ikhnaton's policy led to dire results in the provinces. The army was neglected, with its leaders becoming disgruntled; they would readily team up with the disgusted priesthood. Owing to this condition in the provinces, the world of scholarship was to have the thrill of the centuries, for the discovery of a sack full of cuneiform tablets by a peasant woman at Tell el Amarna was to open a new world to the scholars who foolishly buy "antika."[6]

These Amarna letters were the official correspondence between the Egyptian court and distant provinces—Jerusalem and Palestine, Tyre, Byblos, Phoenicia, and far north in the Hittite country. The loyal princes were holding out against invaders while frantically appealing for aid. Abdi-Hepa arrests attention with his gruff declaration that certain sycophants have libelled him before the pharaoh. Because he dares breathe that Egypt is losing her power the super-patriots fume about treason. Abdi-Hepa replies that "if there are no troops this year, let the king . . . fetch me and my brothers that we may die in his presence." To clinch the point he adds a postscript repeating the treasonable statement "the whole land is going to ruin."[7]

The chief complaint was about certain invaders, the Ḫabiri. At first this was interpreted as "Hebrew," and used to date the Exodus. If Ḫabiri or Hebrews were invading Palestine in 1360 B.C., they must have left Egypt before that, allowing time for wandering in the wilderness. This would seem to check with the apparent ruin of

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[5] Those who date Moses before Ikhnaton could as easily maintain that certain Egyptian priests and Ikhnaton got their monotheism from Hebrew and Mosaic influences in Egypt.

[6] Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* 252 ff.

[7] This whole episode and further human interest material on the Amarna letters will be found in two volumes by Baikie, *The Amarna Age;* and *Life of the Ancient East,* Chap. III; also see Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible;* and Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* 252-282.

Jericho about 1400 B.C.[8] and with the appearance of the names of *A-ia-ab* (Job), *Ia-šu-ia* (Joshua), and *Benenima* (Benjamin) in a letter of Mut-Baal of the same period. But as has been noted (p. 29), the term *Ḫabiri* means much more than sons of Israel or Israelitish tribes; it could as well be applied to early raiders of 1400 B.C., and again to later incoming Israelites after Moses. If the early raiders lost their identity, the later intruders might be the ones to keep the appellation, hence become known exclusively as Hebrews.[9]

Unanswered Questions.—The Amarna period does not as yet supply final and dogmatic answers to the problems of the Israelite bondage in Egypt, the inception of Mosaic monotheism, or the possible facts of the Exodus. Archaeology reveals a wealth of facts, but the facts have a disconcerting habit of falling into more than one logical pattern, any one of which may prove to be the historical sequence, each having had the support of competent scholars.[10]

WHO WAS MOSES?

Moses Scarcely Legendary.—An effect must have adequate causality. The Ten Commandments are too big to grow out of petty causes. They did not drop out of thin air. Great personality must lie back of the initial development of Israel's religion.[11] The traditions of Egyptian bondage, of escape, of struggle, or the towering figure of Moses, are too persistent to permit casual dismissal.

The story of Moses' early life is not unique. Sargon of Akkad was also a foundling,[12] so some have thought the Mosaic story a borrowed plot.[13] The daughter of Pharaoh would be one of many. This whim to play with a live doll would cause no ripple on the surface of palace life, while handing the cunning bit of trouble over to a slave nurse would be inevitable. When grown, this palace attaché could not be a noble, or a soldier, so the temple would naturally absorb him. Subsequent events prove that Moses knew the priestly craft as a student of the royal college of On might know it.

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[8] This earlier date is favored by Garstang and Olmstead. Badè seriously questions this and would place the Jericho destruction nearer 1200 B.C.

[9] See page 29 where this discussion first appeared.

[10] See table of suggested dates, page 89.

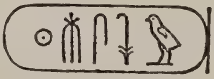
[11] Church, *Israel Saga*, 24.

[12] Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 135-137; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 337.

[13] Church, *op. cit.*, 201, suggests that thirteenth-century Hebrews appropriated the Sargon story for their popular hero, Moses.

If this episode falls in the Ramesid period, then within the temples of Egypt the echoes of Amen-hotep's reforms still reverberated. Egypt and her priests had repudiated higher religion and one God. This lowly student of the mysteries was to have opportunity to try it out on different material—his own benighted people whose great ancestor had felt the urge of high religious adventure.

The Name, Moses.—A sketch of the Moses tradition reveals many items of historical and human interest. The very name, Moses, interpreted by the biblical writer as a Hebrew name from a root meaning "draw out" was in reality the Egyptian *ms-s, mesu*, signifying "to be born" or that which is born, hence "child" or "son."[14] An Egyptian princess unacquainted with the Hebrew language called her little foundling "sonny."



Rā-mes-su.
(Ramses I.)

Cartouche and linear display of name.

The name of Rameses in hieroglyphics Ra-ms-s, Ra plus *mesu*, "child of Ra" or "born of Ra." Gen. 47:11.

The Rise of a Leader.—The sudden arousal of murderous passion in this young Israelite neutralizes the years of Egyptian culture. He strikes for his people, for a cause.

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[14] Note *Ra-ms-s*, Rameses, "born of Ra"; *Thut-ms-s*, Thutmoses, "born of Thoth."

By culture he is Egyptian; by blood he is a Semite. The flight to the oases of Midian; the meeting with a Bedouin girl; the desert hospitality of Jethro; marriage; sheep herding; and some new thoughts about religion from this priest of Midian (Ex. 2:16) furnish biographical items that are only enhanced by the popular appeal of the fact that Moses (Sonny) marries Zipporah (Birdy). How the early Hebrews must have reveled in the local flavor of these traditions!

The Call of Moses.—The more one studies the traditions about Moses, the more one sees a psychological pattern in his religious development. The Egyptian temples housed many a theologian with monotheistic trends. Moses' father-in-law is spoken of as a priest of Midian. The name Sinai, though usually identified as a late biblical term for Mt. Horeb, a spur of the Seir range, may come from a very old pre-Hebraic Subarean tradition as indicated by the element *Sin*.[15] If so, Moses a priest-trained religionist of Egypt was thrown into contact with some of the ancient religious heritage as preserved in the Sinai-Horeb region. Brooding upon his past, his people, the oppression, and chaotic religious ideas, it is small wonder that the whole conflict crystallized in a crucial experience at the burning bush.

What happened to Moses is far more important than what happened to the bush. That a volatile exuded oil from desert flora might burst into flame, or that golden sunlight on colorful leaves might "burn" with a divine fire, has been suggested. Experience is psychic. Vibrating strings and brass tubes on the platform become a symphony in our experience. From a bush could only stream light waves of given length, impinging upon the eye, and stimulating the visual areas of the brain—but the result is an experience of light and color. Music, color, the actual significance of all stimuli, lie within us. Whatever it was that was happening at the burning bush, Moses was experiencing the presence and voice of God!

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[15] *Su*(*b*) and *Si*(*n*) are possibly Subarean theophoric elements appearing in the name *Subartu*, "The Westland of Sin." Also see Lods, *Israel*, 199.

The Birth of an Idea.—That this experience was like a purification and revival of religion is shown in the new name of Deity. Because the name Yahweh written in Hebrew looks much like a form of the verb "to be," tradition interpreted the name as "I am."[16] But the ritual phrase, *Yahweh-asher-yihweh,* "He who causes existence" is of Egyptian origin.[17] It would be logical for Moses in a moment of deep religious experience to fuse Egyptian ideas and age-old religious values into a single idea that brought peace and enlightenment to his soul, and sent him forth enthusiastically to lead his kinsmen into a like experience. Moses' Yahweh must become Israel's Yahweh. The God of Abraham must become intimately the God of all Israel and eventually of the world.

A Priest at Work.—Convincing the human race of its welfare is a difficult and thankless task. Moses' claim that Pharaoh and the people will not listen is true insight. Orations are useless, but there is a universal language that all ancient peoples understand—that of signs and wonders to prove divine authority. Dramatically the story unfolds, the story of a priest-trained mind. Suddenly a wave of remembrance sweeps over this exile. "What is that in thine hand?" The rod; serpents; a leprous hand; these are the agencies of priestly demonstration. Moses' whole education and training has been for just such a moment. As the Bible states, when Moses does finally appear in court the Egyptian priests do "likewise" (Ex. 7:22; 8:7)[18]—priest against priest, until the Hebrew transcends their own craft, and in the name of Yahweh wins the contest before Pharaoh.

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[16] See Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins,* 276; *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 46, 1927, pts. 1 and 2, p. 146.

[17] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible,* 164 and 216, note 87.

[18] This statement appears, however, in what has been thought to be a late priestly stratum in the book of Exodus.

WHAT WAS THE EXODUS?

The Book of Exodus.—The whole Exodus story, as it now stands in the Bible, has been edited by later priestly hands. The later versions gave larger place to Aaron, Moses' brother, and traditional founder of the priesthood. This exaltation of Aaron and an Aaronic priesthood led to an emphasis of Aaron's function as spokesman for Moses almost to the point of obscuring the creative genius of Israel's leader. However, the narratives can be sufficiently untangled[19] to show Moses in his true greatness, leaving Aaron a worthy, able, but decidedly subordinate helper.

The book of Exodus itself falls into definite divisions. The focus is first upon Israel's adventures, then upon the great legal system. There are duplications and variations that clearly reveal the usual blending of southern, northern, seventh century, and late priestly strands of tradition, all touched by editorial hands. A rigid literalism, ancient and modern, tends to read everything back to Moses, thus creating an unreal figure in a misleading setting. Literary analysis helps to reveal the real Moses, the real wilderness, the real problems and leadership, and incidentally the real religious teachers who subsequently reduced this great saga to writing for instructional purposes.

The Plagues.—A modern sanitary engineer can understand the plagues.[20] From foul water following the seasonal periods of the Nile a succession of inter-related scourges afflicted Egypt.[21] Such epidemics were not unknown.[22]

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[19] Arranged in parallel columns in Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History*.

[20] Petrie lists the plagues as follows:

Red Nile and dying fish	June, low water
Frogs	July, flood
Insects and boils	Hot summer and autumn
Locusts	February, green crops
Darkness	March, sand storms

[21] The plagues are variously presented by the southern (Judean); northern (Ephraimitic); and Priestly writers, as shown by the following table:

J records plagues No.	1,	2,		4,	5,		7,	8,	9,	10
E records plagues No.	1,						7,	8,	9,	10
P records plagues No.	1,	2,	3,			6,				10

P ascribes most of the power to Aaron; E emphasizes the miraculous; J, true to type, Moses' place was to connect the God of all nature with these phenomena of His world order. He was right in proclaiming these terrors as evidences of a creative Power. Strange to note, the Egyptian priests also laid claim to the horrors at first (Ex. 7:22). Here again, it was priest opposed to priest; the temple devotees against their one-time pupil. It has been noted also that the plagues involved forms of life worshipped as gods by the Egyptians.[23] Literally their idols plagued them! If Moses took this opportunity to proclaim the supremacy of Yahweh and the danger of opposing Him, he did well.

The death of the firstborn presents little difficulty if it is remembered that others in the family scarcely counted. An epidemic is no respecter of age or sex, but an ancient account would normally focus upon the beloved heir. The Israelite immunity might result from hardier bodies, toughened by labor, or healthier surroundings in the land of Goshen, or those little-understood aspects of blood plasm that modern medicine recognizes as controlling factors in susceptibility to infection.

These possible basic elements in the story are set in a framework of dramatic plot that builds up a narrative of great power, depicting Moses' struggles before Pharaoh, his work with his own people, and the institution of the Passover in memory of the night when death passed over every Israelite hut.[24]

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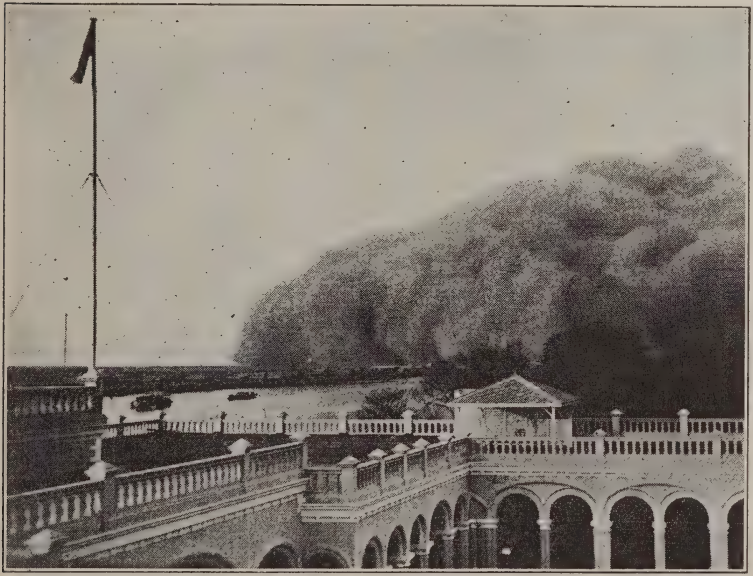
presents Moses the courageous contestant with Pharaoh, making his own speeches, and Yahweh's power is the secret of the plagues with no magic interposition.

[22] The plagues follow a natural course of events. The red marl from mountainous Abyssinia colors the waters. Pliny notes the pest of frogs in Egypt. Flies, gnats, and mosquitoes swarm as the inundation progresses. The translation "lice" is open to criticism. The boils and murrain correspond to Nile-scab, a painful eruption often attending the river rise. Hail is rare in Egypt. Locust scourges are common in Palestine; less common in Egypt. The locust plague is written by the southern and northern historians, and has a Palestinian viewpoint, for in Palestine the locusts are brought by a south-*east* wind, though it is usually a south-*west* wind that does it in Egypt. The darkness is readily understandable by anyone who has experienced the dreaded Khamsin wind or an American desert storm, with dust clouds, darkness, and a driving blast of fine sand that makes the darkness "felt." These storms normally run a cycle of seventy-two hours, three days, as noted in the Bible. The last plague suggests epidemic following a series of violent seasonal phenomena. Back of the dramatic Bible narrative probably lie factual data.

[23] The sacred cattle (*Apis* and *Hathor*) and the sacred scarab beetle (*ḫpr*) would be involved.

[24] That some of these elements are more literary than historical is startlingly suggested by reference to the Elephantine papyri. A Jewish colony in the sixth century

The Exodus.—The strange night festival, the haste, the robbing of the Egyptian neighbors, must all be viewed in the ancient setting. No ethical problem is involved,—unless one insists that the refugees only collected a part of what Egypt owed them. In any case, here is a milestone in history. Semites went to Egypt. Semites were enslaved there. Semites escaped from this bondage. To escape, and to mould a nation, certain things were necessary.



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SANDSTORM AT KHARTOUM.

This photograph was taken from the roof of the Palace of the Governor-General at Khartoum during one of the recent heavy sandstorms which enveloped the city. It shows a gigantic cloud of sand approaching in daylight with that part of the city reached by the cloud in almost complete darkness. The danger of such storms to travellers in the desert will be realized from this picture. A modern example of the darkness that can be felt. Ex. 14:20.

The crossing of the Red Sea was probably at a northern point where the shallows formed an insurmountable barrier until one of the violent desert winds piled up the

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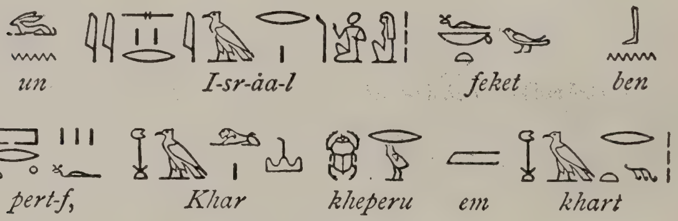
seems ignorant of such a ceremony as Passover. Several times Passover is renewed, as though it might have died out or been neglected by the Hebrews. Would the one ceremony that poignantly recalled the greatest moment in national history be neglected or forgotten in later years? Some scholars boldly claim that the ceremony developed later.

waters.[25] Three versions of the story are discernible.[26] Fortunately the oldest, and probably most authentic, preserves the finest picture of God in his world. Instead of a narrow canyon between walls of opalescent water, the Bible pictures "an east wind (that) blew all the night and made the bed of the sea dry" (Ex. 14:21). Israel crossed; then as the wind died down with the pharaoh's host pursuing, the returning waters and deep mud rendered chariots, horses, and men useless.[27]

A Troubled Pharaoh.—That Merneptah's body lies in a glass case does not invalidate the Bible. Ancient annals often ascribed exploits to the king whether he performed them or not. In the records of the time it would be normal to assert that the pharaoh pursued. The eventual story would add his death. Both represent the literary mind of the times. Neither this literature nor Merneptah's mummy can eradicate each other. They are here to stay.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Earliest Mention of Israel.

Two lines of Merneptah's stela, with transliteration. Note the figures of a man, a woman, and the three straight lines (a plural sign) after the word *Israel,* denoting a man and a woman many times repeated. Notice the play on words in *Syria* and *widow.*

Merneptah's famous inscription, "Israel is destroyed, his seed is not: Palestine hath become a widow,"[28] shows that these Israelites made some kind of an impact upon his consciousness. Ancient kings were not averse to twisting the truth to fit their pride. Israel still lives. The inscription may testify to the reality of the escape and the bold attempt of Pharaoh or his scribe to cover chagrin with boasting.[29]

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[25] Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* p. 87, n. The writer has observed variations of several feet in the level of lakes in the High Sierras under influence of heavy winds. Shore lines will be alternately bare and inundated.

[26] Arranged in parallel columns in Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History,* p. 175.

[27] Note the poetic version in Exodus 15.

[28] The inscription illustrates a bit of ancient humor by word play upon two similar terms, *khar,* the word for Palestine, and *khart,* the word for widow. A devastated country was often called a widow. The scribe wrote that the *khar* had become a *khart, i.e.,* the Palestinian country had become a widow.

WHEN DID IT HAPPEN?

Conflicting Opinions.—The various datings of the Exodus are shown by the following table:

1. Exodus a part of the Hyksos expulsion, ca. 1580[30]
2. In reign of Amen-hotep II, ca. 1445 B.C.[31]
3. A phase of the revolution under Amen-hotep IV, 1366[32]
4. A slave revolt under Merneptah, 1225 B.C.[33]
5. In the period of revolt and anarchy at the close of the 19th dynasty[34]
6. Early in the 20th dynasty, ca. 1130 B.C.[35]
7. The two-Exodus theory, Semitic refugees under Thutmose III and Rameses III[36]

Part of the difficulty arises because there is no name of the pharaoh given in the Bible. Neither does Moses' name appear in the Egyptian inscriptions.

The factors that must be taken into account are:

1. I Kings 6:1, the statement that the temple of Solomon, begun in his 4th year, ca. 973 B.C., was 480 years after the Exodus[37]
2. The Habiri invasion of Palestine as noted in the Amarna letters
3. The record that Rameses settled certain Semites in

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[29] This inscription does not necessarily prove that the Exodus was earlier. There were other raiders (*Ḫabiri, ʿIbrî, etc.*) in Palestine and had been for centuries. There may even have been other Israelites, not of Joseph descent. Merneptah may refer to such groups, or, as indicated above, his boast may be an empty gesture after these Semites under Moses escaped. The other alternative would be to combine the inscription with the Jericho discoveries, and date the Exodus between 1500-1400 B.C.—a not wholly satisfactory solution to this vexed problem.

[30] Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East.* This theory conceives of the Biblical story as a censored account of the expulsion, appropriated by Israel.

[31] Clay and Jack.

[32] Weigall.

[33] Sayce, Petrie, Driver, and Albright.

[34] Kittel, Maspero.

[35] Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien.*

[36] Tofteen.

[37] The Biblical records are quite confusing. Narratives from the south make no mention of the time. Gen. 15:16 speaks of a return from Egypt in the fourth generation, about 150 years. Num. 26:57 is about the same. Ex. 6:16 places Moses the fourth generation from Levi, but Gen. 15:13 says the sojourn covered 400 years. Ex. 12:40 says 430 years. Gal. 3:17 figures 430 years from Abraham to Sinai. Josephus, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint compromise on 215 years.

Goshen and the discovery of the supposed store-cities, Pithom (*Pi-tum* or House of Tum) and Rameses, by Naville; the bricks were not stamped; the upper courses were made without straw[38]

4. The stele of Merneptah mentioning victory over Israel as though Israel were already in Palestine in 1225 B.C.
5. The appearance of the *'Apiru* in hieroglyphics in reign of Seti I, 19th dynasty, before Rameses II
6. Raids upon Palestine as late as Rameses III, 20th dynasty
7. The ruins of Jericho in Late Bronze Age II, but variously estimated between 1400-1200 B.C.

Conflicting Sources.—To complicate the situation, the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch say that Israel dwelt 430 years in Egypt and in the land of Canaan. This might suggest that the oppression took place from the time of Hyksos' fall ca. 1580 to the Philistine supremacy, ca. 1150, and that one historian merged the troubles of Israel in Egypt and Palestine. Furthermore, there is a suggestion that the bondage did not necessarily take place along the Nile, as the so-called "River of Egypt" which marked the border in southwestern Palestine lay far enough north to make it possible for Semites to be "in Egypt" while literally in Palestine.[39]

Exodus Part of a Clan Movement.—One way to fit all this together would be to recognize that the conquest of Canaan was not a single event but a long process of centuries as these Rachel-Leah Amorites contested the possession with resident Canaanites. Some of these tribes never went to Egypt.[40] The Josephite clans, Ephraim and Manasseh may have been the chief migrants to Egypt, during the Hyksos regime. Later, from the east Jordan, raiders kept intruding—the *Ḫabiri* of Abdi-Ḫepa. These

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[38] Excavation by Palestine Exploration Fund in 1883, of ruins in the Wady Tumilat, near eastern terminus of modern Cairo-Suez railway. A papyrus record states that the "house of Rameses," royal residence and temples, was built in this region near the Asiatic frontier.

[39] This stream is not designated by the usual Hebrew word for "river," *nahâr*, but is designated *naḫal*, a brook. Hence the phrase "river of Egypt," *naḫal misraîm*, would not necessarily indicate the Nile, but the dry Wady el 'Arish on the border between Canaan and Egypt. See Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth*, 694.

[40] Rameses and Seti fought the *Asaru* (Asher?), in western Galilee, before the supposed time of the Judges.

Ḫabiri may well have been in part Israelites or *'Ibrîm*. Mut-Baal of Palestine mentions a Iashuia from Gilead who might be the historical figure back of the great biblical Joshua epic and the Jericho attack.[41] Years later other Israelite clans[42] goaded to desperation by Egyptian oppression, and stirred by one of the world's greatest geniuses, Moses, precipitately straggled out of Egypt futilely pursued by Merneptah. After a generation of oasis life, petty wars, and magnificent religious idealism that they could not then grasp, the children of these tribes skirted Edom, drifted through Moab, and penetrated into Palestine.

Summary and Possible Harmony of Data.—When the biblical narrative took final form in Exodus, Joshua, and Judges this long drawn out process was reduced to shortened perspective and applied exclusively to the one group, Israel; the gaps filled in with consecutive action, the sojourn; the characters put into immediate relation, Joshua, Moses; the order of events arranged on an ascending curve of plot climax, Joshua after Moses; and the whole became one of the great literary and religious classics of the world, the Exodus-Conquest. It is the birth of a nation. It is the Iliad of Israel.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE WILDERNESS?

The Wilderness Saga.—The wilderness stories present many problems of detail, though the central theme is clear. Forty, like seventy, is a general term—a long time; a generation or more. It was necessary for this sodden, sullen, ignorant mob of ex-slaves to take up a Bedouin life; to experience the hardships, the loneliness, the hand-to-mouth existence that threw them continually upon their religious faith. Away from the gods and social customs of Egypt, the older generation would die off while a new one grew up familiar only with Semitic desert life. Of such, a new nation could be moulded.

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[41] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 188.

[42] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 247.

The traditional location of Mt. Sinai goes back no further than the sixth century A.D. For the Israelites to travel southward, past the Egyptian garrisons, fortresses and mines would seem foolhardy. The biblical references seem rather to demand a location nearer Edom and Kadesh. Furthermore, one would expect Moses to lead his followers away from the beaten tracks, through the desert that he knew so well, and to the region of his own exile, Midian and the borders of Seir.

Many stories sprang up around this great wilderness journey. Attempts have been made, both by the final editors of the Bible and by modern scholars, to work out an itinerary, identifying the various camps. The task seems both hopeless and profitless. The stories testify to one great belief—that Yahweh cared, and whatever the literary problems, it is no small thing to be the people or the Book that reveals a caring God to a fretting world. This care of Yahweh reposed in stories of alkaline springs sweetened by some local vegetation;[43] of great flocks of quail borne by a strong east wind;[44] of the honey like exudation known as manna (Hebrew term, meaning "what is it?");[45] and of the dramatic location of hidden waters as the desert trained Moses struck the rock.[46] In such stories is beautifully illustrated the idea that God works with and through His creation and through consecrated persons like Moses to accomplish His will. Such a view does not take God out of the Bible; it puts God into His world.

Mt. Sinai.—Somewhere high on a volcanic spur of the Mt. Seir range amid the reverberating thunder of a wild mountain storm, Moses had his second great experience. Far below him a restless throng of people and cattle troubled Aaron and the leaders until in a mad reversion to Egyptian cults, particularly Apis or sacred bull worship,[47] the Golden Calf was cast and set up. On the mountain top, however, the mind of a highly educated religious genius was crystallizing into definite concepts of the divine will, concepts which would lead to the eventual promulgation of the greatest code in the world. Engraven upon the stone would be timeless words.[48]

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[43] No such agent is now known by the Bedouin, but the Tamils and Peruvians are said to know such a method.

[44] A not unusual phenomenon of the region. Note also that quail flesh is very rich, and the story recalls the widespread hunters' legend about wagering that one can eat one quail a day for thirty days, with inevitable nausea and loss of the wager. The same would be true with mackerel, or any rich, gamey food. The Israelite revulsion was normal.

[45] See page 41, note 56.

[46] The American Indian will locate water in arid regions. Sometimes a mere trace can be developed into quite a spring by digging back in the crevices. Frequently, in an apparently waterless section, water lies a few feet below the surface, obtainable if one knows the signs of its presence.

The Ten Commandments.—The formulation of laws into easily memorized series of ten or more was a known practice. In the Bible itself, a number of groups of ten can be discovered.[49] The ten commandments as generally learned are derived from Ex. 20 and Deut. 5. This version is clear, direct, highly ethical, superior to any other known code. However, Ex. 34:14-26, contains a set of ten laws, primitive, ritualistic, adapted to unlettered folk who needed to be told exactly what to do in their relations with Yahweh.

This ancient code, which some scholars think more nearly represents the original Mosaic code,[50] stimulates proper attitudes through specific commands. There shall be no other gods; no images.[51] They must never forget or become indifferent to God, hence laws commanding that they keep memory festivals. They must not look upon God as an exalted philanthropist, always giving; they too must care enough to give, hence never appear empty handed. What is given to God must be of the best, first fruits, first born, the finest of the crops. These are not sly

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[47] The bull was also a favorite Semitic symbol of divine power and majesty. It has been suggested that the Golden Calf was simply primitive Semite, rather than a reversion to Egypt. However, the reference to the calf as "your gods" (*Elohîm*, a Hebrew plural, meaning "gods") sounds like an exasperated Semite exclaiming "here are your Elohîm," pointing to an Apis image. See Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I, 90 and 108.

[48] Note that the Bible gives two versions: in one, God writes the commandments; in the other, Moses writes at divine command.

[49] Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents.*

[50] Note that in Ex. 34:27 this is the code that Moses is commanded to write. There can be no dogmatic assertion that this is the original code.

[51] The Urartian deity required no image. Cook, *Schweich Lectures,* 1925, 140 and note 4.

SUMERIAN CODE.

A leaf from the world's oldest law book. This tablet, now in the Yale Babylonian Collection is older than the famous Hammurabi code. One of the laws reads: If an ox of the field (hired?) be let to perish, ox for ox shall be given. This *lex talionis* reminds one of the eye-for-an-eye law of the Hebrew code. This tablet was first published by A. T. Clay in the Yale Oriental Series, Vol. 1.

priestly schemes to obtain the choice provisions for the temple larder but genuine attempts to train a nation out of sordidness.

The Sabbath, or day of cessation,[52] was a boon in a world where common people starved and worked to death. Like the law concerning images, the law prohibiting over-work was the reaction of Moses' inspired mind against the horrible Egyptian bondage. The Sabbath was not a day of repression, but of release from toil for the better things. In all history, no finer socio-religious concept has appeared than that of the Hebraic Sabbath.[53]

Two strange provisions seem at first to be wholly unrelated to the modern world, until placed in an ancient setting. The people of that day had undoubtedly observed the two modes of disintegration, i.e. putrefaction and fermentation. Leaven was associated with an unpleasant, unclean state, hence holy offerings must never be contaminated with it. The prohibition on seething a kid in the mother's milk assumed that even dumb animals have rights; and human beings must never become callous. To entertain the guest with a choice stew of tender goat meat heartlessly prepared with its own mother's milk savored of brutal harshness and indifference to the finer sensibilities. The crude ritual law crystallized the spirit of universal kindliness.[54]

Summary.—Whatever may have been the original form of Moses' code, and whatever subsequent revisers did, the fact remains that the great code became the most famous in the world. No better has been suggested by its most violent critics. The commandments can all be broken, but not destroyed!

There are masses of additional legal material attributed to Moses, and he undoubtedly issued many a decree. The

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[52] *Šabbath*, "cease," hence rest. There were tabu days in other cults but nothing that can be exactly compared to the Hebrew. See Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions.*

[53] Agitation against the Sabbath loses sight of the great social values and ignores the historical implications. A seven-day week denies rest, change, and renewal to millions. The old Hebrew idea was a treasure too often undervalued.

[54] It is quite probable that the law also involved primitive tabu or magic elements.

"eye for eye and tooth for tooth" was in the famed Hammurabi code. There existed a whole background of ancient Hurrian, and Semitic law. Moses would certainly be aware of the contemporary culture.[55] His revulsion against Egyptian practices and his high education explain much of his procedure, the whole directed by the intense religious experiences which his sensitive soul invited.

The Ark and Tabernacle.—At no other point is Moses' education better suggested than in the provision for the tabernacle and ark. As a priest he knew the value of concrete symbols. In Egypt they worshipped images; Moses prepared an ornamented box, which could contain sacred relics and be carried in view of the people, making it possible for ignorant folk to *see* something, yet avoiding the imagery of idol worship. The tabernacle, typical Bedouin goat-hair tent, movable, a nomad home for Yahweh, served in place of a massive temple. Yahweh was so closely associated with Horeb-Sinai, where Moses had first met him, and where the Law was given, where Jethro served him and Midian worshipped him, that only a movable shrine would suffice to convince these simple refugees that he was a continual presence. The ark and tabernacle were a priest's method of making God's presence real. So well was Moses trained, so clear was his vision, that these plans were to him a divine voice, a command of Yahweh. It was the old story of the Infinite working through finite channels to accomplish ultimate purposes.

The Years at Kadesh.—The picture of the Israelites encamped in orderly rows of white tents of the American Civil War period is erroneous. These Israelites were living a nomad, drifting life. For a generation or more (40 years) they inhabited the oases of the Kadesh-barnea region.[56] Moses and his tribal relatives probably centered at the tabernacle. During this sojourn, an attempt was made to enter Palestine from the south. The spies' report concerning immense walled cities and giant soldiers is understandable in the light of excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh where massive walls have been uncovered.[57] The consequent fear of the Israelites led Moses to forbid the attempt to fight their way in. Ignoring this, they forced the issue at Hormah and were defeated. One does not need to put Moses into a clairvoyant trance to support the biblical story; the attacking army that sub-consciously recalled Moses' warning was in no mood to win victory. Probably certain clans broke through into Palestine at this time, but the major group was destined to go far around by way of Moab and the Jordan.

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[55] See ancient Hittite, Assyrian, and Babylonian codes in Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible.*

[56] Forty is a general number; there is no point in discussing why the Hebrews should have taken forty years to make a week's journey. On Kadesh-barnea see Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea, Its Importance and Probable Site;* Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus;* Wilton, *The Negeb;* Doughty, *Arabia Deserta;* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine.*

Plot and Counter Plot.—This wilderness period is further enlivened by incidents that all have place in the story, but defy chronological arrangement. Miriam, the sister of Moses, has a fit of jealousy. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law has to suggest a sane way of organizing the clan life. A revolt broke out involving Korah, Dathan and Abiram, though the biblical narrative is confusing. The oldest version shows the last two revolting against Moses' secular authority; another indicates Korah inciting the people against the Levites; and a third pictures the disgruntled Levites opposing the rest of the priesthood. There must have been jealous rivalries.[58]

The brazen serpent incident intrigues the archaeologist who remembers that the serpent cult was so old in Palestine[59] and that the Nehushtan[60] images were found even in the days of Hezekiah. Did these desert children hold some of the ancient superstitions about the serpent? In their terror over the snake bites, did Moses relieve them by setting up a magic image? If so, he aptly translated it in terms of Yahweh's care and power.

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[57] Excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh, *Palestine Institute Publications*, No. 1; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 124.

[58] In Num. 16:1 the conspirators are spoken of together, but subsequent references show Moses dealing with them separately. The Korah story is found only in the later priestly section; Dathan and Abiram are recorded in the old stories recorded by Northern (E) and Southern (J) narrators. Even the P section is composite, one showing an antagonism between the priestly or Aaronic group and the Levi clan. Full discussion found in Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 60 ff.; *cf.* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, 98.

[59] The famous site, Beth-Shan, is really the "house of She'an," She'an being (probably) the old Semitic name for the old Sumerian serpent deity (modified from Shahan or Sakhan). Beth-Shan is a rich field for the investigator, excavations already revealing remains from Egypt, the Aegean, Anatolia and Babylon. Among objects found was a bowl with serpent design, pottery model of a serpent, little clay shrines with coiled serpents at the base, and figures of the Mother Goddess and serpent.

HOW DID THEY GET OUT OF THE WILDERNESS?

Ballads and Fragments.—The book of Numbers preserves poetic fragments that indicate a mass of popular lore incorporating incidents of the wilderness period. If they dug a well, they celebrated. The valleys traversed, landmarks, cities attacked—all were written upon the tablets of memory in ballad form. Down through the centuries, writers such as southern (J) and northern (E) or editorial (P) would draw upon this treasure trove of literature for materials that eventually became a part of the Bible. Thus events of the thirteenth century might evolve into writings of the eighth or even the fifth.[61]

The refusal of Edom to permit these straggling Israelites to pass through their country was a normal attitude in an arid region. Gold is no exchange for water when cisterns go dry. The delicate balance between life and death in desert country precluded much generosity upon the part of the Edomites. Whether this act stimulated the enmity between later Israelite and Edomite, or whether that hatred gave rise to an elaborated story about such an early offence may never be known, but it is true to desert life.

The Balaam Oracles.—The Balaam story is far more than a demonstration of the conversational abilities of a donkey (Num. 22:28 f.) or the conduct of angels! (Num.

See Cook, "Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology," *Schweich Lectures*, 1925; Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan;* Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 124, 153, 248, 321; Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, index.

[60] The Hebrew *naḫaš* is "serpent" and *neḥuštân* a "bronze (serpent) image."

[61] Numbers as it now stands is partly late, but may contain early fragments. See Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and commentaries.

22:31.) There is a possible historical kernel combined with a puzzling biblical text.

The setting of the story is clear. Israelite hordes threaten Moab. They must pass through, for only sand and death await to the east. Balak, a Moabite sheik, sends for a trance seer[62] to tell his luck and curse the invaders.[63] The episode is carried through three chapters, with four distinct chunks of poetry inserted. In Num. 22:5 Balaam is described as son of Beor, living at Pethor on the Euphrates, in "the land of the children of his people," which last statement conveys little sense.

Moab was contiguous to Ammon, but far from the Euphrates. Would a local sheik have dealings with far away Pethor, or with near-by Ammon? The Hebrew text now reads *'ammô* literally "his people" but a slight change of the final letter makes it read *'Amôn*, or Ammon.[64] Something has happened to this narrative and text, with a consequent confusion of geographical elements.

Whatever textual study ultimately yields, the interesting thing is that an Ammonite seer would be normally anti-Moabitic. Balak desperately turned to this famed neighbor, who thereupon blessed Moab's enemies in the name of their famous God, Yahweh. On the other hand, if Balaam was really from the far north, he was an Amorite,[65] from the old Amurru region, and might be expected to favor these Israelites. Anti-Moabite or pro-Israelite, the result would be the same,—a poetic oracle of blessing that was recounted, embellished, but nevertheless may well have supplied a basic belief in destiny that colored subsequent Hebrew history.[66]

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[62] One of the few cases where an unusual psychic state is associated with the prophet or seer. The Hebrew prophets seldom indicate any such peculiarity as "falling down with eyes open." Ezekiel is pictured as a semi-trance seer, being "in the spirit."

[63] The stone circle on the heights of Nebo has been suggested as the site of this episode. Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 241.

[64] In Hebrew *'am(m)* means "people," and *ô* is the third person masculine singular suffix, "his." But *Amôn* is written similarly, except that the final letter instead of being *ô* is *n*. The two letters are so much alike that some think that a copyist confused them, so that the text, copied and re-copied through the centuries, read *'ammô* "his people," instead of *Amôn*.

[65] In the last analysis, it seems difficult to believe that the seer Balak had dealings with distant Pethor. The reading of *Amôn* is more reasonable, yet care must be exercised in discounting a tradition. Certainly something must lie back of the very mention of Pethor and the Euphrates.

Numbers and Deuteronomy.—The balance of the book of Numbers (Chaps. 25-36) is taken up with incidents, laws, tribal allotments and the introduction of the Joshua figure. The book as it now stands is a blend of ancient and late elements that should be read always under close scholarly scrutiny that picks bits of valid tradition out of its literary matrix.

Additional incidents are furnished by the book of Deuteronomy, supposedly the second (Greek *deutero*) oration of Moses, though noticeably in the third person and itself making no claim that Moses wrote it.[67] As will be shown later, there was a whole school of writers and thinkers known as the Deuteronomists, who probably formulated this book and many parts of other books in the seventh century, giving us the D or Deuteronomic stratum in the Bible.[68]

HOW DID THEY GET INTO CANAAN?

Crossing the Jordan.—As when they left Egypt, the Israelites faced a formidable barrier at the Jordan. Two pictures of the crossing are given. The late priestly writer, with his love of miracle, visions the waters standing heaped up on each side of the path through the river.[69] Fortunately the older writers have, as usual, kept God in his world. They mention that the waters were overflowing the banks and that suddenly they were cut off "a great way off" at Admah near Zarethan (Josh. 3:15-16) and the people *hastened* to cross (Josh. 10:11). Had the waters been held perpendicular by a divine hand, haste would have been unnecessary; but if flood waters cut under the high east banks of the Jordan and a land slide dammed them temporarily, the reason for the stoppage and the hasty crossing is clear.[70] Some have suggested that both the slide and the fallen east wall of Jericho may have resulted from earthquake, which even modern insurance policies term as "an act of God."[71]

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[66] The oracles in their present form in the Bible are thought to have been put into writing and made important in the period of Solomon (?). They do express the ideas and hopes of this later period. This same tendency would lead modern political parties or orators to read their present ideas back to great men or epochs of earlier days (*e.g.*, Washington, Jefferson, or Magna Charta). Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, 117, suggest ninth century.

[67] Even very conservative scholars have gone so far as to admit that Deut. 34 might be an appendix by another than Moses' hand. The third person throughout, and the intimate details of Moses' death, and the claims to greatness all argue an editorial aspect.

[68] There are supposedly four strata: J, southern or Judean-Yahwist; E, northern, or Ephraimitic-Elohist; D, Deuteronomic; P, Priestly. These four strands were woven into the present Bible and constitute the so-called *documents* of the Pentateuch, hence the "documentary theory." This seventh-century factor will be discussed at the proper time. See Eiselen, *Books of the Pentateuch*, or Trattner, *Unravelling the Book of Books.*

[69] Nowairi, an Arab writer, records a like event in 1267 A.D. See *Palestine Exploration Fund, Q.S.*, 1895, 253 ff.

A careful reading shows clearly that several stories were woven together. The Rahab incident is complete in itself, a literary gem, but one looks in vain for its significance to the invaders. That she helped the spies and was later spared is a logical sequence of events, but one never finds out how the spy expedition helped the capture. There is no mention of gates, city plan, or allies. Consequently, it has been thought that probably Rahab and her relatives were related to or favored the Hebrews, and that they may have planned to open a gate or organize a band of deserters.[72]

A similar puzzle is presented in the story of the memorial cairn. In Josh. 4:3-8 twelve men are commanded to take up stones out of the river, carry them to the bank and set them up as a monument at the first camp in the Promised Land.[73] Verse nine, however, pictures the stones being placed in the river bed, where they are "to this day,"—under water and useless as reminders of great events! It is quite evident that the priestly writer of this verse was more interested in the stones being exactly "in the place where the feet of the priests . . . stood" than he was in avoiding incongruities.

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[70] Much difficulty in making a present-day approach to the Bible is caused by the fact that these priestly versions of Biblical lore have been the favorites in story and picture form for the Church School. As a result, the simpler prophetic narratives, with their emphasis upon God working in and through his creation, Nature, are often unknown to Bible readers. To "unlearn" the stories of childhood causes difficulty, whereas the prophetic versions are often explainable in scientific terms and would not need to be unlearned. Instead of modern study throwing out a part of the Bible, it was an earlier age that virtually threw out these prophetic writers.

[71] See Garstang, *Joshua and Judges*, 138 ff.

[72] Much of this would be pointless if the falling walls were to open a path for the Israelites anyway.

[73] Such mnemonic symbols are characteristic of primitive life. The American Indian rock paintings and buffalo hide designs are but a succession of reminders whereby a tradition is recalled by the story teller. They cannot be "read" in the usual sense, but have meaning only when the original story is already known. The Gilgal cairn would arouse curiosity and call forth the story of the famous crossing. Some scholars have looked upon the whole story of the Jordan stones as a later attempt to explain the ancient Gilgal monument. See *The Clarendon Bible*, II, 125; Lods, *Israel*, 95 *et passim*.

Taking of Jericho.—The "strong wall" of an ancient city was more than stone, it was men. When the wall of Jericho fell "of itself"[74] one thinks of Rahab, or surreptitiously opened gates, unenthusiastic defenders, resistless desert men, or quaking masonry, or all of them at once. But the dramatic tale of the daily march about the city has psychological backing, if not critical. Picture an ancient city, barred against this rabble from across the Jordan. There is nothing new in that, but when the invader, accompanied by his sacred priest-borne shrine, the ark, circles about the city in dead silence, and just when he should turn to attack he marches back to camp, any pious Jerichoite would first ascribe it to attempted magic and fear. The second day would arouse interest; the third day a question; the fourth day trepidation. This is new magic, and unknown magic is always dangerous, for local priests do not know how to cope with its spells.

The seventh day! To think of that mystic number is to fear. As the dread day approaches, tension grows. At last the hour strikes and the silent march begins. As the circuit is completed and every soldier on the walls grips his weapon—nothing happens! Morale snaps like an overtrained football team. Now comes a new menace of more powerful magic—seven circuits on the seventh day. With the last circuit of the walls a great shout[75] and sudden rush strike terror to the hearts of hardy but superstitious warriors. The walls of Jericho go down;[76] every Israelite goes up "straight before him."

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[74] So Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History,* p. 264, note *v*, following Greek and Latin versions.

[75] Note that the words "the priests" are not in the Hebrew, Josh. 6:20.

[76] The Hebrew says that the wall fell down "in its place," not "flat." (See note to Revised Version text.) The word *taḥath* suggests "from under," fitting some of the suggestions made by Garstang.

Summary.—Whether it was earthquake, treachery, terror, or Israelite zeal; whether it happened in 1400 B.C. or 1200 B.C.; whether it involved psychology, geology, theology, or all of them together; the fact remains that the fire-scarred ruins testify to the destruction of this city and its fallen walls bear mute witness to the invading host. Jericho fell.[77]

The Capture of Ai.—It would have been fatal to leave this Jericho fortress behind them. They could have slipped around it, but would be open to a sortie from the city. Likewise, it would have been foolish to follow up the canyon leading to Jebus or Jerusalem, mighty walled city high on the Judean hills. One other rugged pathway led past Ai, and by strategy and fire this village was reduced.[78]

The story of Achan is true to life. Booty was consecrated to Yahweh, but how could Yahweh miss a mere garment and bit of gold[79] from Jericho? The selection of the culprit by lot was ancient custom. One is not too sure that had the lot fallen to some other Hebrew, the results might not have been the same. Booty was soldiers' pay. Achan was scarcely alone in his cupidity. More interesting still was the solidarity of Hebrew clan life. Not the individual but the group sinned or suffered. Achan's whole family had to be extirpated to appease God.

Primitive Treaties.—The later Israelite-Gibeonite alliance (2 Sam. 21) was supposed to have grown out of the early ruse whereby they exacted an oath of protection from

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[77] Excavation at Jericho, while partly corroborating the Biblical account, has somewhat confused the issue. Almost equal weight can be given to the theory of earthquake destruction, attack and treachery, or undermining of the walls, as suggested by Garstang. (See note above.)

For a discussion of the Jericho problem in the light of recent discovery, consult Garstang, *Joshua and Judges;* Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria;* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I; Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible;* and *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* VI, p. 49.

[78] Fire evidences are quite clear. For general discussion see references in note 77 above. The site is still uninhabited and locally known as "the tell" or mound. It is strewn with broken pottery, indicating that the village came to an end at the same time that Jericho was razed. At present another site is pointed out by guides, but the name was evidently transferred from the original site.

[79] The reference to the wedge of gold, Josh. 7:21, is parallel to a Babylonian record of an offering of Belshazzar to Shamash reading: *Ištênit* (one) *lišânu* (tongue or wedge) *ḫurâṣi* (gold) *1 mana KI-LAL-šu* (1 mana its weight) *ûmu 11* (11th day) *ša araḫ* (of the month) *Ayari* (Iyyar) *mâr* (the son of) *šarri* (the king) *ana Šamaš* (unto Shamash [the sun god]) *ittadin* (he gave). Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar,* p. 89.

Joshua. The emphasis upon this Yahweh oath and attendant modified slavery is found in a late priestly insertion (Josh. 9:15b and 17-21). A Deuteronomic editor inserted details in verses 9b-10. Verse 7 tells of a Hivite treaty. Evidently several strands of lore concerning early alliances between invading Semites and local Canaanite tribes were unified in the final Joshua epic.

Poetic License.—The key to Josh. 10:12-13 is right in the Bible text. Gibeon, the new ally, besieged by five petty Canaanite kings,[80] appealed to Joshua. A sudden attack in the dawn routed the enemy, further discomfited by a hail storm, sure sign of Yahweh the God of storm and power. The victory was unbelievable. Two days' work was accomplished in one. Time stood still in the tension of battle. In the book of Jasher,[81] a collection of early Hebrew ballads, was preserved a fervent prayer and testimony of Joshua. This is poetry, not an astronomical report. The Bible is not holding a stop watch on astronomy; it is recording the poetic version of a great emotion.

Palestinian Life.—The account of the battles with Jabin, the five kings, and the razing of Hazor[82] furnish a splendid cross section of Palestinian life. Standing upon the necks of kings, cruel banter, execution and desecration of the corpses by hanging, are all a part of a rude age. Even the hamstringing of the horses (Josh. 11:9) was to be expected—the horse was unfamiliar to these invading nomads, useless, and the sign of dangerous opponents! The book of Joshua, with its final oration and its meticulous assignment of tribal possessions may not be a stenographic report of Hebrew entrance into Canaan, but it checks sufficiently with archaeological data to indicate that back of the book lie valid elements of tradition, out of which the ultimate author(s) built a great religious work.

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[80] The domain of one of these kings, Piram of Jarmuth, is mentioned in the Amarna letters as *Iarimuta*.

[81] The book of Jasher is one of the so-called "lost books" of Hebraic literature that preceded the Bible. Later Jewish writers, like many modern literalists, lost sight of the splendid poetic fire of the early writers and dogmatically reduced to prosaic detail these sweeping brush strokes of great spiritual artists. Notice the prose comment following the quoted poem, Josh. 10:13b-14. It has further been suggested that the sun and moon "ceased" when the storm prevented full daylight, thus favoring continuance of the attack. Or the cloud may have cut off the heat of the sun. Joshua's prayer for help would be intelligible in either case. For fuller discussion see Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I, 126 and note.

[82] Like Jericho and Ai, Hazor bears evidence of destruction in the same period. Garstang, *op. cit.*

HOW WAS CANAAN OCCUPIED?

The Conquest of Canaan.—The conquest of Canaan has been celebrated in song and story. It is no wonder that its thrill led to the production of some of the most intriguing of Old Testament literature,—Joshua, Judges and portions of Samuel. In a way it climaxes the Formative Period of Hebrew history, preparing the way for the United Kingdom.

Archaeological material is available for this period, yet the ruins supply confusing data. In addition three versions of the conquest appear in the Bible. The very latest, or priestly, is represented by the book of Joshua, a sort of prose epic of the conquest, introducing the hero, Joshua, who victoriously marches through Palestine, conquers, divides up the land, suppresses an east Jordan altar, makes a farewell speech, and dies, leaving a completely subdued Canaan in Israel's hands.[83] Here at least, the voice of archaeology is clear. Joshua is not primarily history but a glorified tradition, a hero tale of Yahweh's great power, for lines of Canaanite cities crossed Palestine from west to east,[84] Jerusalem remained untaken, and other centers of Canaanite influence persisted contrary to the picture presented in the book. Yet, as always in biblical literature, elements of history can be dug out.[85]

Book of Judges.—The Deuteronomic writers of the seventh century B.C. had much to do with the production of the book of Joshua, probably before the final priestly aspects were woven in. They too saw the conquest in the rosy glow of memory, two speedy campaigns under

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[83] The conquest is followed in intimate geographical and archaeological detail in Garstang, *op. cit.*

[84] Aijalon, Shaalbim, Beth-Shemesh, Gezer, Jerusalem in the south; and Beth-Shan, Ibleam, Taanach, Megiddo, Dor on the north.

[85] Much of this Joshua material is from the late priestly, P, writers.

Joshua, north and south, with surrender of Canaanite forts. But the oldest portrayal of the conquest is furnished by the book of Judges, largely from the old northern and southern narratives, (JE). This book has little continuity. It is a collection of episodes. It may be called a source book of readings in ancient Hebrew history. As such it is extremely valuable, for its tales were told for years before being written down, and it breathes the atmosphere and customs of that early day. Remembering that the Bible is a literature; that a literature grows out of history and embodies history; this varied material, both archaeological and literary, may be surveyed and its values derived. This confusion in records, far from invalidating the Bible, may be an actual evidence of chaotic events and more chaotic mingling of traditions. That the rough-and-tumble Judges period followed the intrusion of Israel into Palestine seems clear, but that Joshua and the Canaanite wars immediately preceded is open to question.

The Historic Joshua.—The excavation of Jericho, Ai and Hazor[86] has convinced some scholars that its destruction occurred about 1400 B.C.[87] A letter of Mut-Baal of the Amarna Period, (ca. 1360) mentions a certain *Ia-šu-ia* or Joshua of the Gilead region, together with a Benjamin and Job.[88] Evidently *there was* a Joshua figure. The massive walled Jericho of the Bible was razed and burned; the Jericho of the archaeologist reveals fallen walls, almost obliterated on the east, charred timbers, cracked stones and brick-red mud fragments. Even bits of charred food are found, just as left by the mighty cataclysm. Ai and Hazor also record the flames, mute evidence of some destructive wave of conquest.

Both Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem and Mut-Baal were in trouble at this time with Ḫabiri, raiders. Previously, Thutmose III had staged twelve campaigns in Palestine

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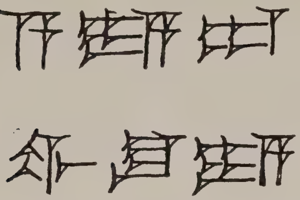
[86] Particularly by Garstang, *op. cit.*

[87] Badè, Albright, and others are inclined to a later date for this Late Bronze Age terminus. *Cf.* Garstang, *op. cit.*, and Burney, *Book of Judges.*

[88] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 196 *et passim.*



The names Job and Joshua as they appear upon the Amarna tablets. The signs read *A-ia-ab*, like the Hebrew *'Iyôb* or Job; and *Ia-šu-ia*, equivalent to the Hebrew *Yehošua* or Joshua. Note that there are two ways of writing the *ia* sound in cuneiform. The sign composed of eight wedges is really a combination of *i* plus *a*, hence *ia*.

and weakened the local kings. His symbol was a hornet! By 1411 B.C., Egypt's "hornets" were out of Palestine, and the way was clear for some daring intruder like *Ia-šu-ia*. The pottery fragments show that a new influence entered Palestine in the opening years of the half century between 1400 and 1350 B.C. Strange to say, the Bible itself mentions "hornets" as God's instrument for clearing the land so that Israel can get in[89] (Ex. 23:28; Josh. 24:12).

Summary.—The conquest of Canaan is an established fact, but the dates and actual succession of events await further evidence. If Joshua actually raided Palestine in 1400 B.C., would not Moses and the Exodus come before? Yet it is barely possible that the Joshua episode was complete in itself, and actually introduced certain Ḫabiri, *'Ibrî*, or "Hebrews" into Palestine, in line with the now-recognized fact that the Hebraic seizure of Canaan was a long drawn out affair, involving tribes and parts of tribes from the days of Abraham on.[90]

A century or two later, the Joseph tribes had their great experience under Moses. As Joshua was military, Moses was prophetic. The one led armies; the other led thoughts. From the south some of Moses' followers penetrated

[89] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 214, mentions the size and number of hornets that disturb the luncheon of the traveller at Baal Maon in Moab. See also Nelson's *Condensed Biblical Encyclopedia*, 308.

[90] That the Hebrews had friends or relatives in Palestine is suggested by the stories of Rahab at Jericho and Jael, wife of Heber, a Kenite, in the north country.

Palestine, where other ‘Ibri were already settled. After desert vicissitudes and great religious stimulus, the main body also penetrated Palestine from the east,[91] (though some probably remained east of Jordan. See Josh. 13:2-23). Subsequently the thrilling epic of Joshua and the glorious traditions of Moses were fused in a mighty symphony of Israel's birth.[92] The logic of plot demanded escape from Egypt, Moses' revelation, and then the victory under a military hero like Joshua; but the true history may have had its own plot, no less thrilling, but less adapted to the climax which the Bible writers sought. They were writing a religious literature; the student traces history from this literature and the blackened stones of silent cities!

Promised Land.—No matter how much devout Hebrews might believe that their Yahweh had given them the Promised Land, there was a teeming population in Palestine that objected to the idea. Palestine had inhabitants; it had cultures of its own; and the invading Hebrews were destructive barbarians in spite of religious ideas that might eventually become world-wide. Undoubtedly priceless art treasures and records came under the ban of these rude intruders. But the story of the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews is also the story of the conquest of the Hebrews by Canaan. As usual, the cultures modified each other.

These early Palestinians kept certain religious festivals, corresponding to First Fruits, the Sin Offering, the Whole Burnt Offering, the Peace Offering, and the New Moon,—all of which appear in one way or another in the Hebraic codes and ritual. Such a rite may be enjoined, or it may be heartily condemned. Such apparent discrepancies in the Bible can be harmonized when viewed in the historical setting. A foreign rite might be usable, only to degenerate until a later prophet condemned it. The biblical narrative does not contradict itself; it records the contradictory situations that developed.[93]

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[91] Among other writings has been found a plea to the deity, Meshar, to drive out the men of Subara (Mesopotamia?), of Cyprus (Philistines?), the Hittite, the Hurrian (!) and the men of Kadesh. Could the men of Kadesh refer to those who for forty years inhabited that region, developed a religion, later to break through into Palestine and lay claim to it as Hebrews; or does it refer to the Kadesh of Tyre, far in the north? Romance suggests the former; scholarly caution probably demands the latter.

[92] Involving the final contents and arrangement of the books of Ex., Num., Deut., Josh., and Judges as they now stand in the completed Bible. All of this editorial work and completion of Israel's scriptures came centuries after the events. See Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament*.

Prehistoric Palestine.—Palestine was old. In 1925, in a cave in the Wady-el-Amud in Galilee a bit of human skull was found. It dated back to paleolithic times. It was a Neanderthal woman, pointing to Mousterian culture and some contact with Europe.[94]

The famous site at Gezer (map No. 3), where graves have been found thirty-six feet down under eight strata of debris, was peopled by small cave men in neolithic times. Some primitive artist scrawled the figure of a cow, with horns tipped to prevent goring, recalling later legislation on this subject found in Hammurabi's code (#250), the Bible (Ex. 21:28), and in the Jewish Talmud (Berakh, f 33a). Small clay figures of swine, boar-tooth amulets, and pig bones on an altar were found. Evidently the pig was so closely connected with pre-Hebraic religion in Palestine that later religious teachers banned it as "unclean" and not to be eaten.[95] The serpent cult, (see p. 97 and note) as at Taanach, was evidenced by bronze serpentine figures found in their pits,—another cult element prominent in later Hebrew development (Num. 21; 2 Kgs. 18).

Human Sacrifice.—Clay jars were found with bones of week-old infants.[96] Other tiny skeletons were discovered in the corners of rooms,[97] and under walls, a sacrifice to bless

[93] See Lods, *Israel*, 51-104.

[94] Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Recente*, 1907, had already surmised a prehistoric occupation of Palestine. See also Turville-Petre, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee;* Garrod, *Mesolithic Burials from Caves in Palestine.*

[95] Among early peoples a holy object "contaminated" by contact, and spread tabu. The original prohibition on eating swine might have grown out of the fact that these sacrificial animals were contaminated with holiness, hence tabu. However, the Hebrews did eat sacrificial meat, so this point is doubtful. See Price, "Swine in Old Testament Taboo," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XLIV, 154 ff.

[96] Similar finds have been made at Carthage; de Prorok, *Digging for Lost African Gods.* At Taanach a child about ten years old was so found.

[97] In the far east, still-born babies are sometimes interred under the floor of the hut.

the structure. At Megiddo (map No. 3 or 7) such finds were made at the foot of the wall, between the first and second layers of stone, and a girl's skeleton over the third layer. This misguided sincerity that prompted the destruction of children for the deity repeatedly touched later Hebrew life, as witnessed by the story of Isaac; the rebuilding of Jericho (1 Kgs. 16:34) whose walls were laid "in the death" of the builder's children; the Moloch worship (2 Kgs. 23) and Manasseh's idolatry; and the dramatic act of Moab's king who sacrificed his son upon the walls to win victory.[98]

Later on, it would appear, selfish human nature prevailed; they began to give deity what they did not want themselves. The immured skeleton of an old, diseased woman bears mute witness to spiritual chicanery, the kind of thing denounced by later Hebrew prophets (cf. Mal. 1:7). Time and again, the record of the archaeologist vivifies items in the Old Testament.

Historic Palestine, a Chaos of Conflict.—At Biblical Beth-Shan (modern Beisan, map No. 3) and Megiddo, history can be read almost page by page. Temples, one atop another at Beth-Shan, range from the time of Thutmose III to Rameses II. Seti I and Rameses III erected monuments. It is clear that Egypt long exercised power over Palestine, and was still there after the Amarna period. Rameses II exacted a treaty from the Hittites, though he himself was caught in a trap on the battlefield and narrowly escaped death.[99] A great inscription was set up in Nature's Hall of Fame, the Dog River embankment where soldiers from Rameses to Allenby have left their records. Rameses claims the tribute of Jacob-el, a suspiciously Hebraic name.[100]

That Rameses was not wholly sure of himself is shown by his appeal to Adad-nirâri I of Assyria, who was only too willing to take a hand in the situation by capturing Carchemish (see map No. 4). Further side lights appear in the famous treaty of Tudhaliash IV with Ishtarmuwash of Amurru.[101] The Amurru king was to be an ally against Egypt, Babylon, or Achaea if called upon. Most striking of all, they were to boycott Assyria—allow no Amorite merchant to go there, and arrest any Assyrian merchant who entered Amurru![102] This bred trouble. Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Assyrian monarch, replied by an invasion. Tudhaliash V was overpowered, and Hittite power (though not all Hittites) suddenly waned.

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[98] See Lods, *Israel*, 285 ff.

[99] An Egyptian scribe tells the story at length, and the tale loses no romance in the telling! See Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 221.

[100] On this consult Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 126, and Lods, *Israel*, index.

In the Ramesid period, Palestinian power and culture were growing,[103] but there was no unified government. Numerous petty city states struggled along, divided by commercial interests, clan feuds, geographical differences, and the inevitable conflicts engendered by two intrusive peoples, Philistines and Hebrews, moving in from opposite directions, to displace settled inhabitants.

The Philistines.—Like two great tidal waves the westward moving Hebrews and eastward moving Philistines were bound to meet in deadly conflict in the valleys and hills of the Shephela. These Philistines were refugee Aegeans. After 1500 B.C. the same northern uproar that troubled the Hittites, Assyria and Anatolia generally, brought Hellenic pressure upon the Aegean. The northerners possessed iron and horses. The Minoan civilization was doomed; the Aegeans were fairly pushed into the sea. Their ships moved toward Egypt and a great naval battle took place. Grappling irons bound the two navies together. Archers along the shore sniped the less valorous *Pelištîm* who jumped overboard. Though Rameses III invaded Palestine in 1195 B.C., three years later these *Pelištîm* or Philistines (corrupted into "Palestine" and so naming the country) were in Amor. Sidon was destroyed, and three feet of earth covered the débris before the city was rebuilt. Far up in Lebanon graves of distinct Mycenaean type have been found, suggesting that these harassed Aegeans temporarily penetrated that far.

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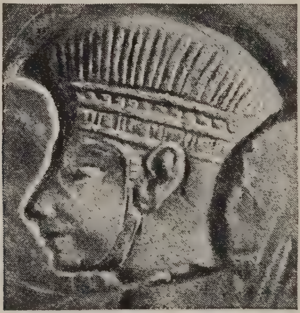
[101] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 226 ff.

[102] The economic boycott as a weapon in international affairs is not a modern suggestion.

[103] Rameses III has both Anath and the Semitic goddess, Astarte, on his shield.

The main Philistine region was in the dune country along the coast, next door to Egypt and directly west of the Judeah highlands. Here they could plant vineyards to produce what became the famous wines of Philistia; back of the dunes were patches of good land and pasture, the basis of established wealth. The Philistine cities were strategically located. Gaza controlled the caravan road to Egypt and was the port of entry for distant Arabia. Ashdod controlled the valley of Elath; Ekron the valley of Sorek and the road to the highlands. Ashkelon had deep wells, gardens. It tells something of Philistine arrival, for it had been an important Hyksos center, was destroyed, rebuilt, and then destroyed again about 1400 B.C. Its ashes testify to the incoming wave of *Pelištîm*, and help establish the date.



PHILISTINE.

Called Pulsata or Pulista on the Egyptian monuments; the land of the Philistines (Philistia) was termed Palastu and Pilista in the Assyrian inscriptions. They occupied the five cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath, in the south-western corner of Canaan.

These Philistines were cultured refugees in a strange land. Necessity drove them into a military confederacy of high type. Their Cretan skirts, scale armor and feathered helmets were to become a common sight to the untutored

Hebrews, who would hate, fear, yet love and marry Philistines.[104] These Hebrews, true to eternal human nature, would feel their own inferiority and imitate the sophisticates about them. Thus would Palestinian influence prevail upon Hebraic simplicity while Hebraic ruggedness and religion would infuse old rites, words, laws, and customs with new meanings which might in time become ethical, clean, and genuine instruments for dealings between man and God.

Literary Heritage.—Remarkable finds have revealed the literary heritage of Palestine. Centuries before the Hebrew conquest, down in the Sinai region Egyptian hieroglyphs had been modified into a series of more than twenty signs, a genuine alphabet, with which names and brief notations were scratched upon the rocks.[105] This alphabet found its way north.[106] The literati probably scorned such a simple vehicle of writing and stuck to the complicated cuneiform of Babylon. But someone was not satisfied to cumber himself with useless scribal lumber, so invented a series of wedge signs for writing upon clay, roughly equivalent to the Sinaitic signs.[107] Here was an actual cuneiform alphabet, something that would have completely changed the whole Assyro-Babylonian scheme of writing and might have left the scholar of today a vast literature without the complication of some 38,000 signs and variants.[108]

Be that as it may, and in spite of the fact that as yet no great body of literature in this cuneiform alphabet has been found, Palestine was certainly not a barbarous wilderness but a region of creative intellect. Incessant fighting, destruction, and dampness have obliterated stores of evidence, but enough has come to light to shed new rays upon the Bible.[109]

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[104] Judges 14:2; 16:4; Nehe. 13:24-25.

[105] The early researches in the story of the alphabet can be followed in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, "The Alphabet," Taylor, May, 1884; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, "Notes on Recent Theories . . . ," XXII, 177-198. See also *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1883, art. "Egyptian and Old Babylonian Theories of the Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet Compared." On more recent discoveries, see Sethe, *Ursprung des Alphabets, die neuendeckte Sinaischrift;* Sprengling, *The Alphabet, Its Rise and Development from the Sinai Inscriptions;* Lods, *Israel*, 76 *et passim;* Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai;* Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 93 *et passim*; *Harvard Theological Review*, 1928, p. 30.

[106] Lods, *Israel*, 76-82.

[107] Olmstead, *op. cit.; Syria, revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*, 1929, 304-310.

[108] Listed by Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie*, 1926, "Evolution des Cunéiformes."

Biblical Echoes.—As this pre-Hebraic Palestinian culture unfolds, startlingly familiar biblical elements appear. The language might be termed an old Phoenician or old Amorite, with Aramaic and Babylonian elements mixed in. There are deities such as El,[110] Elim,[111] and Elat.[112] Numerous baals are mentioned, Baal of the Vine, or Baal of the Year, or the Baal of Wings.[113] Baal Zephon is mentioned in the Bible (Ex. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7). A god Shalem is mentioned. This combined with the element *uru* (Hebrew *'îr*) would make *Uru-Shalem*, Jerusalem, or "The City of the god Shalem."[114]

WHAT DID PALESTINE DO TO THE HEBREWS?

The Judges.—The book of Judges is the book of the *Šôpheṭîm,*[115] literally "the deciders," or leaders. Far more than civil figures, they were military leaders or adventurous soldiers of fortune. The writer(s) and editors of the book, as it now stands in the Bible, took typical ancient traditions and set them in a framework for their own purposes. This framework is characteristic of the seventh-century Deuteronomic, showing that faithfulness to

[109] Babylonian letters have been found at Sapuna; Sumerian Dictionaries; and even what appears to be a new linguistic form. There are Hurrian proper names, like Aki-hinni, a further evidence of a strong Hurrian element in Palestinian life. See Lods, *Israel,* 253 ff.

[110] Note the use of the terms El Elyon (God Most High) and El Shaddai (God of the Mount) in the Biblical narratives.

[111] This seems to be a plural form, somewhat as the Hebrew *'Elôhîm,* translated "Lord" or "God."

[112] A female deity, feminine form of *'El.* The Hebrews repudiated the female deity, keeping the male *Yahweh* or *'El,* but they frequently fell under the influence of heathen cults or goddesses, much to the distress of the prophets.

[113] Baal is not the name of a god, but a title, meaning "over-lord" or master. The winged *baal* was six-winged, like the figures of Isa. 6. It is sometimes hard to differentiate in the biblical record between an actual borrowing of a cult idea and the use of a poetic literary allusion, much like the modern use of American Indian legendary material.

[114] See p. 54, n. 26. The traditional Jewish interpretation of the name as *'îr,* "city," of *šâlôm,* "peace," is scarcely tenable. On the possibility of Salem as a deity name, see *International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia,* III, 1596; Sayce, *London Academy,* '91, February 7, p. 138; Jastrow, in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XI, p. 105; Lods, *Israel,* 130. As indicated by Lods, and attested by Assyro-Babylonian custom, proper names usually incorporated some deity name.

[115] Semitic *š* is pronounced *sh.*

Yahweh brings prosperity, while apostasy brings adversity. Teaching religion from historical examples is not bad pedagogy, and preserves valuable lore even if the stories have been high-lighted by later narrators.

The events fit Palestinian conditions between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.[116] The writers strung episodes together in a semblance of chronology, but undoubtedly there were *šôpheṭîm* who were contemporary, as well as periods when no outstanding leader prevailed. Those judges that are recorded fit into a rough geographical pattern, as though the writers had taken an illustration from each part of the country. Deborah and Barak work in the north; Jephthah on the Ammonite frontier; Ehud in Moab; Gideon in the south; Samson on the Philistine border; Othniel against Edom.

Using the book of Judges as a source book, the narratives have much more than a story value. Here are flashlight pictures of the gang age of Israel, the period of anarchy, the chaos of adjustment as a desert nomadic culture penetrates an agricultural country with its customs of settled abode and private property. The desert is highly socialistic. Land is free and open; wells are a tribal possession. If hunger comes, sheik and slave alike feel its pinch. Agriculture is individualistic. The plowman's sweat dampens any enthusiasm for carelessness about property rights.

The Land of Baal.—Canaan was a despotic land. "Baal" was the key word; overlordism the nucleus of all institutions, political, religious and social. Centuries of Hebrew history and pages of biblical text can be explained by this life and death grapple between two conflicting ideals; the one, Hebraic, with its tendency to merge the individual into the interests of the group, the other, Canaanitic, exploiting the group for the individual. Later Hebrew laws exhibit clever adaptation;—such as allowing property in land but forbidding its sale out of the family (Lev. 25:23-27), or permitting control of crops but compelling the field gleanings to be left as public property (Lev. 19:9; Ex. 23:11). It was the age-old struggle of the desert and the sown,[117] the nomad and the agriculturalist, the group and the individual. Small wonder that the Bible has inspired humanitarian interests in spite of misinterpretations.

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[116] This would be in line with the situation if Hebrews came in with the Joshua period, and again in a later Mosaic or Levi migration. Subsequently, the time element was shortened by the Biblical writers.

Minor Judges.—It is convenient that the first *šôpheṭ* story in the Bible should be short, simple, and show clearly the Deuteronomic skeleton.[118] Othniel suddenly rises as a local leader and metes out vengeance to the "double dealing Chushite," king of Edom (?)[119] (Jud. 3:7-11).

The second *šôphet* is a left-hand Benjaminite with dagger girded on the wrong side where it escapes detection, until Ehud strikes unexpectedly with that deadly left hand. It is a grim picture of assassination, scarcely lightened by the obese king lying prone with the dagger firmly sunken in the folds of fat.[120]

Of Shamgar little is known, except that the name is not Hebrew. The father's name is Egyptian, and his son's, almost classic Sumerian, or Hittite.[121]

A Woman Judge.—The Deborah-Barak saga is fortunately preserved in prose and poetry, with the poetic version older and more spirited. The ballad, chant, and ballad dance preserved many an item of early history. These poetic fragments may be supplemented, woven into complete poems, or re-written in prose, but in spite of later accretions will retain elements of valuable history.

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[117] Gertrude Bell wrote an entertaining volume under this title.

[118] Note the stereotyped cycle: sin, Yahweh's anger, oppression, appeal to Yahweh, rise of a *šôpheṭ*, victory, peace—until it happens all over again.

[119] Cushan-rishathaim might well be translated "the double-dealing Ethiopian." He is spoken of as a king of Aram-Naharaim. *Aram* in Hebrew can easily be a mistake for Edom, by simply failing to write one letter with rounded corner. If not written squarely, Hebrew *d* easily becomes *r*. The Naharaim may be a scribal explanation, inserted after the mistake had occurred. Othniel is mentioned as a Kennizite, which also would indicate southern Palestine and the Edomite border. On the other hand, if Cushan does not refer to Cush (Ethiopia) but is a corruption of Kassite, then the passage might refer to some petty double-dealing Kassite ruler up in Mesopotamia. But were invading Hebrews up in that country in this period?

[120] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 296, places this incident in the time of Samuel.

[121] So Nöldeke in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1888.

Discrepancies between the poetic and prose version are an actual aid to the student who wishes to understand the growth of the Bible. The prose is cold. Jabin of Hazor is the central figure, though not placed in the battle. Deborah is from Mt. Ephraim. The tribes of Zebulon and Naphthali supply the army.[122] In the poetic version, however, one can fairly hear (at least when read in Hebrew) the galloping-galloping-galloping of steeds, clicketty-clatter of chariots, and the rush and swish of the swollen Kishon as the sudden cloudburst sweeps along its dry bed.[123] Sisera is the chief figure; Deborah is from the tribe of Issachar; and all tribes except Judah and Simeon supply men. Both versions agree, however, in a Hebrew-Canaanite struggle at Megiddo, with triumph of the barbaric invaders, assisted by the wife of a related clansman (Kenite) who characteristically keeps the laws of the desert, i.e. hospitality first; followed by blood revenge upon an enemy of her (distant) relatives.

The poem has valuable side lights upon customs, conditions, and human nature. The very names of Sisera's pursuers, Deborah, (Hebrew "Bee") and Barak (Hebrew "Lightning") add verve to the story. Yahweh is pictured as coming from the region of Mt. Seir and Edom, showing that in this early day the tradition associated him with Moses' desert home.[124] This Yahweh is a God of storm, clouds, darkness,[125] rain, hail, and the powers of creation. Judges 5 is thus a depository of some of the early Hebrew religious ideas, reminding one of the whole problem and work of Moses and anticipating the future work of the prophets.[126]

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[122] The prose version of Jud. 4 gives these two tribes chief place. Many a battle story has had its chief characters changed by the narrators. American text-books vary widely from those of other nations in recounting the same revolution, civil, or other wars. It is the troublesome query of "who won the war?"

[123] One must live in semi-arid country to appreciate the suddenness and severity of cloudbursts that will transform a dry gully into a dangerous torrent within a few moments. The writer has driven miles across desert terrain at top speed to outdistance one of these racing storms.

[124] In verse 5, read the two parts of the verse with and without the phrase "even yon Sinai." Note that the couplet balances when this is omitted, but is awkward as it stands. This phrase is thought to be a late scribal insertion to indicate that Seir is none other than the legendary Mt. Sinai. Even in English translation the student can sense the interpolation.

[125] In the priestly ritual this was preserved to some extent and it appears frequently in the psalms. The Hebrew temple had no image, but a dark cubicle, Holy of Holies, the abode of Yahweh. A traditional chant from Solomon's dedication ceremonies proclaimed that Yahweh preferred to dwell in thick darkness—probably one of the few authentic incidents preserved in the mass of glorified tradition about Solomon's temple and its dedication.

The country was in chaos, unpoliced, dangerous. Travellers were not safe. Leaders were lacking. (Even Barak needed the prodding of a super-woman, and the protection that a famous seeress might guarantee.) The battle was turned by the weather, a sure sign of Yahweh's work. Horses and chariots were useless on the sodden Esdraelon plain. The final picture is illuminating. Sisera's mother, locked up behind the lattice in true Canaanite style where the master of the house was *ba'al* or absolute lord, awaited the coming of her son with booty and a few extra wives. This Canaanite civilization could never be the channel through which might flow new revelations of ultimate truth until the will of God would be interpreted in terms of brotherhood, freedom, and good will even for women, children and servants.

A Bandit Deliverer.—Jephthah, the embittered bandit of the land of Tob,[127] is a typical *šôpheṭ*, a leader called for a specific purpose and granted his authority by virtue of his ability to serve.[128] The story shows evidence of transmission, calling Chemosh the Ammonite god, confusing him with the god Milcom. But though not wholly accurate, there are valid fragments that come from the early days: —Jephthah's vow more sacred than a girl's life; other gods as real as Yahweh; human sacrifice unusual but not impossible;[129] and above all the idyllic daughter, unnamed, unmarried, just in her 'teens,[130] but so true to tribal custom that her one sorrow is that she has not made her contribution to the common good as a wife and mother in Israel.

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[126] They kept the idea of power, and God in nature, but developed the concept of an ethical deity more in keeping with the modern concept of God.

[127] Thutmose III mentions the city of Tubi, location unknown.

[128] Herein are the roots of true democracy.

[129] Only a misguided piety fearful of the Bible's integrity will try to explain away Jephthah's human sacrifice in the face of the known facts of that age. Because the Bible writer makes Jephthah a *šôpheṭ* and Yahwehist does not mean that he is a theologian, prophet, or great religious idealist. He was a crude tool in a rude age for a rough task. *Cf.* Lods, *Israel,* 83 ff.

[130] Marriage took place early: to be unmarried at the proper time was a disgrace upon the family. She was a "teen age" girl.

Granting that there are elements of pre-Hebraic Mother-goddess festivals in these unprotected girls going out into the hills, it seems scarcely tenable the the whole episode is only a revamped Mother-goddess myth.[131]

The Gang Age.—The migration of the Danites is a serio-comic commentary on Palestinian life in the twelfth century B.C. as well as a possible explanation of the sanctuary at Dan in later years (1 Kgs. 12:26 ff.). Seriously, these Danites look longingly at a fertile country, Laish, decide to migrate and capture the helpless city, and do it! But the tale is enlivened by Micah, robber of his own mother, who in turn calls Yahweh's blessing upon her repentant boy, and proves her faith by dedicating two shekels of the returned plunder to Yahweh and keeping four-and-a-half times as much for herself. To complicate the religious problem is the statement that Micah sets up a shrine and images (*teraphîm*) in his own house and ordains a son as priest. Yet when a Levite comes along, he immediately urges him to accept a position as private priest, offering him a salary, a new suit of clothes, and his board.[132]

The Danite spies readily recognize the speech of a southern compatriot and quiz him about his position. Beyond that, their main use for Yahweh and the priest is to have their fortune told. The climax comes later when the whole Danite band raids Micah's shrine, to get his good-luck charms, while the priest is detained at the gate by six hundred armed men. To this gentle persuasion is added the plea that it were better to be priest to a tribe than to a single family—"and the priest was glad!"

The final touch lies in Micah's pursuit; the Danites' feigned surprise leading to Micah's whine "You have taken my gods, what have I left, why ask me what is the matter?" This is topped by the raw humor of the Danite reply: "Sh! Speak softly. Somebody might jump out at you, and it would be fatal." Of course, the Danites would not think of doing this thing, (?) but any bush may conceal a villain,—it is just a suggestion for Micah's own good!

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[131] Church, *Israel Saga,* 234, refers this plot to the Tammuz, Iphigenia and dying-god cult. The attempt to reduce so much of the primitive Biblical material to unfounded myth from non-Hebrew sources ignores the simple fact that *all* culture groups produce something of their own, and the clever Hebrew mind surely would not be uncreative. It is a more scientific attitude to allow for considerable quantities of underlying valid elements in the extensive Hebrew lore that comprises so much of the Old Testament.

[132] Evidently the priesthood was not confined to the Levites or to the house of Aaron, but the Levi clan was recognized as having some special connection with Yahweh. *Cf.* Deut. 33:8-11, which represents the eighth-century concept, but attributed to Moses.

Such a folk tale is a gem in its own right, aside from its revelation of the life of the time. When Micah saw that they were too strong for him, he went home (Jud. 18:26). That is a volume on the social conditions of a time when might made right, every man did as he pleased, and anarchy reigned in the highlands of Palestine. The Hebrew inroads had upset the older culture.

The Lone Champion.—Samson, playboy of the Philistine border, is different. He is not a genuine *šôpheṭ* or leader, but a lone player upon his own stage. Aside from the devout story of his birth, there is little of religious value in the Samson cycle, unless it be used as a warning against futile living.[133] Many a popular hero story gravitated toward him[134] so that the present account may contain much more than an ordered biography. The very name, "Sun man"[135] coupled with the heroic feats, parallels some of the ancient sun myths of other peoples. This swash-buckling aspect, the lure of women, the flash of wits, the crude jests, were sure to make a popular appeal that guaranteed growth and permanency to the Samson lore.

Certain germinal truths in this cycle are clear. There was a Philistine aggression. A group of Judah-ites would be perfectly willing to sell a Danite, (Jud. 15:11-13) a little deal which Samson permitted, then finished off with a donkey jaw. His two marriages reveal parental negotiations and some freedom in youthful selection.[136] A wedding with its feast and battle of wits supplied entertainment for the whole community. The riddle, the pun, the subtle balance of words in rhythmic form was a perpetual joy to the ancient Semite, who never lost the art of playing with his brains.

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[133] This aspect has been written up at some length in Knopf, *Bible Youth in Modern Times*, Chap. III.

[134] The Hercules stories of Greek fame, or the Gilgamesh legends in Babylon are similar. Many historical elements have been found in the Gilgamesh cycle. It may be so with the Samson tales. Homer wove such fragments in his Odyssey.

[135] Suggested in *International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia*, IV, 2675. On theoretical relation between Samson and ancient sun myths, see Burney, C. F., *The Book of Judges;* Oesterley and Robinson, *A History of Israel*, I, 154, n. 3.

Amidst good-natured chaffing the highland giant recalls the lion he killed and the bee swarm that settled in the carcass. To the guests he chants,

> Out of the eater came something to eat
> Out of the strong came something sweet.

Seven days of feminine tears wrest from Samson the answer to his own riddle, which his Philistine wife relays to her countrymen. One can feel the tension as a young Philistine sarcastically goads this Hebrew giant;

> Honey; what could be sweeter!
> A lion; what could be stronger!

In bellowing rage Samson flings his ribald jest, reflecting upon his wife's duplicity,

> You guess it, but how
> You plow with my cow!

The affair ends with thirty dead Philistines!

Folly and Futility.—The story of Samson's return, and the father's offer of the younger daughter in place of the original wife is true to custom. Samson's subsequent act of sending foxes through the grain fields has been considered one of the sun-myth elements in the cycle, figurative for the spread of rust in the corn through the sun's rays.[137]

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[136] Samson's marriages were of the *ṣadîqa* type, where the wife remained with the family, and the husband visited her from time to time with a gift. See Smith, W. R., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 70 ff.

[137] This was an ancient superstition. Ovid (Fasti, IV, 679) described the Roman Cerealia where foxes with firebrands tied to their tails were let loose and driven from the Circus. The sun-god was supposed to destroy the corn of enemies by sending rust or mildew. See *The Clarendon Bible*, II, 155 n.

The whole purposeless plot is repeated in the affair of Samson and Delilah. Her feminine weapon is pouting and accusation of lack of love; Samson's masculine defense is in teasing, which finally gives way to actual sharing of the secret of his strength. The taking of vows and the sacredness of the hair were well established elements in the religion of that period.[138] It is not necessary to figure some connection between hair follicles and muscle tissue. Samson believed his strength lay in Yahweh's favor to the Nazirite; when the hair was gone, his strength, be it physical or psychological, was gone.[139] Only with the growth of his hair and the conviction of Yahweh's renewed favor would he be able to become the super-man again and dislodge the key pillar of a temple.[140]

The Samson cycle ends in disappointment and futility. The Philistine problem was not solved. The Hebrews were not aided. Religion was not advanced. Only as a fine example of folklore does the narrative rise to any height. Herein is its chief value for the biblical student.

Refusing a Crown.—The Gideon episode has been spoiled by too much attention to how and why a fleece might remain dry on a damp night and *vice versa*. It is far more important to wrest a bit of early Hebrew life from the narrative. Many strands have been woven together, one tradition even giving Gideon a Canaanite name, Jeru-baal.[141] Evidently baalism and Yahwehism were mingled in popular thought.

The *malak Yahweh*, or Messenger of Yahweh, is the familiar Old Testament type, of an agent of God who is unsuspected until the sudden miracle. The placing of the sacrificial food upon the rock and then pouring the broth as a libation is especially significant since hundreds of such pre-historic rock altars with cup holes have been found all over Palestine. Sometimes these cups connect through channels to a cave beneath, so that blood or any liquid could flow to the earth spirits.[142]

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[138] Church, *Israel Saga*, 235-240.

[139] Note that it did not prevent him from turning the heavy millstone in the prison.

[140] This has also been interpreted as a sun-myth element. As the sun pulled the western pillars that supported the vault of heaven and engulfed himself and the world in darkness, so the Samson story presumably wove this plot into a folk tale about a local hero. See Burney, *Book of Judges*, pp. 391 ff.

[141] Explained by his zealous destruction of a baal altar followed by popular wrath which was only averted by the father suggesting that a baal ought to be able to fight his own battles.

The selection of Gideon's band was in line with known practices among primitive folk. There is probably no particular significance in the fact that some men scooped up the water in their hands while others knelt down by the stream.[143] A decision had to be made. Any convenient "sign" would serve.[144] Likewise the torch and pitcher fits an eastern custom of smothering a smouldering torch in a jar, until it is needed, when waving it through the air will cause it to flare.[145] In any case, "lamp and pitcher" should read "torch and jar."

The results of the strategy are true to life. The ancient world was afraid of the dark.[146] Any commotion, shout, unexplained event, to say nothing of the sudden ring of fiery torches, would stampede such a group as these Midianite raiders. Characteristically, in the midst of Hebrew pursuit there is tribal bickering as the Ephraimites demand an explanation of their omission from the project. Gideon replies with subtle flattery, and the Bible naïvely remarks that "then their lip (so in Hebrew) was abated."[147]

East of the Jordan Gideon sought assistance from the little villages of Penuel and Succoth. They acidly reminded him that he had not caught any Midianite kings yet. Gideon proceeded to catch them and returning to the villages caught also the elders who had taunted him, and again there is delightful *naïveté* in the biblical remark that he took thorn branches and "taught" the elders of Succoth.

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[142] Early man dwelt in caves. It is reasonable to suppose that he peopled these dark recesses with spirits. His first religious rites would deal with these spirits of the cave, and long after deity was sought in the heavens above, the old custom would prevail. Among the American Indians many of the serpent rites involve sending these "messengers" to the gods. This may explain the antiquity and prevalence of serpent cults. *Cf.* Lods, *op. cit.*, and Olmstead, *op. cit.*

[143] It has been said that the men who scooped up the water were more watchful, being able to keep their eyes open for enemies, and remaining erect, ready to meet a foe—a strained explanation that ignores primitive psychology.

[144] Observant missionaries have reported that just such modes of making a choice of men are still followed by certain African tribesmen.

[145] Police in Cairo were formerly accompanied by the torch bearers who performed this function. Noted in *The Clarendon Bible*, II, 143 n.

[146] Delightfully portrayed in Xenophon's *Anabasis.* The ten thousand Greeks were hard and brave—in daytime.

[147] Not modern slang, but serving the same purpose.

It was the inflexible law of blood revenge that prompted Gideon to inquire of kings Zalmunna and Zebah whom they had slain at Mt. Tabor. They boasted—and they might as well finish off their lives in a blaze of bravado—that their victims all looked like Gideon and kingly. They were Gideon's brothers. His son had the chance to assert his manhood by killing the two kings, but he was too young and fearful. Gideon vindicated the family honor.

Seizing a Crown.—All of these incidents contribute to a tale well told, but lead to a more significant situation. In the enthusiasm of release from Midianite oppression, Israel offers Gideon the kingship. This he refuses, as a true Hebrew, but consents to take a share of the spoil, which makes him immensely wealthy for that day. True to the times, he spends his money for religion and for wives. He has a number of establishments, and inevitably Canaanite influences creep in.

The expected happens. One wife, a Canaanite woman of Shechem, names her baby *Abi-melek*, "My Father is King." This woman is a baalist. To her, Gideon is overlord. The Hebrew democracy of the *šôpheṭ* is unappreciated by her. Abimelek grows up in a Canaanite, baalistic, despotic atmosphere.

Upon Gideon's death, true to his background, Abimelek immediately engineers a plot to seize power, reminding the Shechemites that he is a home town man. The calibre of the conspirators is revealed by their robbery of the temple of Baal-Berîth[148] for campaign funds. The viciousness of baalism is illustrated by the ruthless assassination of all the half-brothers to remove any claimants for the throne.

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[148] Important excavations have been carried on at this temple of the Baal of the Covenant. See Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 285 ff.; Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 56.

Only Jotham, who flings his taunting fable about briar bushes and honest trees, escapes.[149]

Here is an account of the first abortive attempt to set up a Hebrew monarchy, and it is along definite despotic, baalistic lines. But the ingrained desert democracy is too strong yet. The *šôpheṭ*, or local leader, exactly fits Hebrew customs and ideas. Gideon had been good enough Hebrew to follow that path;—and good enough child of his age to mix it with a baal shrine and indiscriminate polygamy. Abimelek overshoots the mark. The Shechemites at a drunken vintage festival get ugly. They question Abimelek's power and curse him. That is the beginning of the end.

In the ensuing struggle, Abimelek takes desperate chances. At Thebez, after street fighting sweeps the city, Abimelek attacks the central tower. As the heavy wooden door is being battered down, a woman rolls a millstone from the tower top, which grazes but fractures Abimelek's skull. The last scene in the drama is characteristic of the Canaanite attitude, for Abimelek begs his armor bearer to kill him, lest it be said of him that "a woman killed him."

Women, gold, cattle, human beings—these were the pawns in the Canaanite game of life. Hebrew thought might yet be crude, but it had germinal elements of something far higher.

Shadows.—Like a deep shadow enveloping any spark of idealism that might have existed there sweeps through the closing chapters of Judges the ancient tradition of a revolting crime. Surely in this stark record of sin, woman took a tragic place. It is one of those Bible narratives often deplored but as previously noted, the Bible is a record of life, and life does have these tainted spots—and the awful results.

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[149] Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I, 151 ff. The mention of the killing of all of Gideon's sons, seventy men, on one stone, is a warning against literalistic use of figures in the Bible. Seventy is an idiomatic figure, meaning a great many or indefinite number. If Gideon had seventy sons, and Jotham escaped, and Abimelek did the killing, obviously only sixty-eight could suffer execution.

The subsequent war is still testified by a deep layer of ashes at the site of ancient Gibeah where the final slaughter took place and the city, captured by strategy, was burned. The struggle was between Ephraim and Benjamin, each tribe acting as a whole for the honor of its own member. This tribal pride outranked moral sense, prompting the Benjaminites to protect their degenerate fellows.

Mizpah, the rallying point of the Ephraimites, was an important site all through Israel's history.[150] Its recent excavation has added much to the biblical narrative. Back in Hyksos days a settlement had been there, and its mighty walls, forty feet high, twenty to thirty feet thick, covered outside with an apron of smooth yellow plaster to prevent enemies getting a toe hold for scaling, make it easy to understand the agitation of the Hebrew spies in Moses' day who reported the giants and cyclopean walls of Canaan.

The Mizpah of Hebrew times was on top of the débris of the early Canaanite city. Philistine pottery shows that trade relations with the coast existed. Here the Hebrews built a shrine to Yahweh, with an altar base straddling the previous Canaanite wall.[151] An inner shrine, ten by twenty-six feet, reminds one of the Holy of Holies of the later temple in Jerusalem. However, Yahweh was not alone honored, for east of this shrine was another devoted to the worship of the goddess Astarte. Yahweh worship was certainly not the ordered system pictured in the later priestly scriptures in Leviticus, Exodus and Deuteronomy, for it was at a typical Canaanite harvest dance in honor of Yahweh that the Shiloh girls were stolen by the bereaved Benjaminites to become wives in place of those slaughtered at Gibeah.

The Idyll of Ruth.—The book of Ruth, following that of Judges, bears many earmarks of late production and was written up in its present form long after the events

[150] Badè, Excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* L, 1 ff.
[151] Badè, *op. cit.*

happened. It is, however, a treasure trove of early tradition and custom, and is an idyll of the more beautiful side of life in a period that was at best a chaotic conflict of good and evil. It scarcely seems likely that the Israelites would invent *in toto* a story that posited a dash of Moabite blood in the royal family.[152] With careful limitations, the book of Ruth may be used as another bit of fine literature out of which the historian may glean a few golden grains of fact.

The End of the Šôpheṭ.—The primitive nomadic institution of the *šôpheṭ* could not last. The superior culture of Palestine was bound to shape the lusty, growing Hebrew commonwealth. As noted before, the backward civilization invariably tends to copy the sophistication of others. The *šôpheṭ* was of the desert; Palestine was the country of *melakîm,* kings. Abimelek's conspiracy was premature, but the power, wealth and sophistication of the little city states attracted, and the time aproached when the inevitable adjustment must be made. Furthermore, the Philistine menace grew. Disunited, bickering tribesmen could not hope to hold out against these confederated lordly Philistines. The whole situation called for unity.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Do great leaders make crises, or do crises make the leaders?
2. Is education necessary to leadership?
3. Must a reformer come from the group he wishes to assist?
4. Were Moses' signs and wonders the most important part of his story?
5. Is God less powerful if he works through his own established laws?
6. Are the ten commandments practical?
7. Would there be any advantage in recovering the ark or the commandment tablets?

a. Does force settle human problems?
b. Is there an essential difference between an act of God and the working of natural law?

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[152] Ruth, as a Moabite girl, appears in the genealogy of the Davidic line. On the other hand, in the early days there seems to have been little of that Hebraic exclusiveness that opposed mixed marriages and mixed religion. Late orthodox Judaism may have wryly overlooked this disturbing fact rather than endanger its own orthodoxy by repudiating the book.

c. If Moses utilized a situation to achieve his objective, does that minimize his greatness?
d. Is priestcraft dishonest?
e. Could a group of illiterates understand a high ethical monotheism?
f. Do deep convictions mould life? What is the chief conviction that is motivating your own life?
g. What part of your education or life's experience could God use?

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8. Do miracles happen today?
9. Were the Hebrews right in crediting God for help if the Jordan was stopped or Jericho fell through natural causes?
10. Would it reduce the fame of Moses or Joshua if it should be proven that they did not work at the same time?
11. Is poetry and imagination a detriment to the Bible?
12. Do you think God can use imperfect beings to accomplish His will?

h. Would a good Deity command the ruthless destruction of a whole people?
i. Can there be progress without leadership?
j. Has the freedom of woman promoted a happier civilization?
k. Would Hebrew religion have developed ethical aspects more rapidly if the Hebrews had never attempted to exterminate Canaanite neighbors?
l. Could group hatreds be solved by intermarriage and development of a common type?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The Amarna Age. (Baikie, AA, LAE, VI; Barton, AB; Breasted, ARE, I-V, AT, HE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I; Rogers, CPOT.)
2. Egyptian remains unearthed at Megiddo. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB; Duncan, IBA; Macalister, CEP; Olmstead, HPS; Or. Inst. Bull., q.v., Fisher.)
3. Babylonian influences in Palestine. (Barton, AB; Clay, OBT; Kent, HCEHH, II, IV; McCown, GSG, pp. 61 ff., 103 ff.; Smith, OTH.)

a. Semitic contacts with Egypt. (Albright, APB; Breasted, HE; Kent, HCEHH, IV; Lods, I; Olmstead, HPS; Petrie, HIC; EI.)
b. The serf class in Egypt in the XIXth dynasty. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 32; Kent, STPJ, p. 32; Petrie, EI, chap. II.)

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4. The true significance of the bondage and exodus. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 33-36; Clarendon Bible, vol. II, pp. 28-32; Kent, HCEHH, XIX, XXIII; STPJ, I; McCown, GSG, pp. 105-106; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, chap. V; Petrie, EI, II, III; Wild, EHP, pp. 171-172.)

5. The Kenite theory of Yahweh's origin. (Atkins, PG, pp. 466-468; Barton, SSO; Davidson, OTT; Lods, I, pp. 317 ff.; McCown, GSG, pp. 135 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 92 ff.; Smith, OTH, pp. 61-67; Wild, EHP, p. 159.)
6. Monumental evidences of Egypto-Palestinian relations in the 13th century B.C. (Lods, I; Macalister, CEP; Petrie, EI; SE; Con. Bib. Enc.; Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps.)
7. The supposed store cities of Pithom and Ramses. (Naville, SCPRE; Petrie, EI, II; Wild, EHP, II; Con. Bib. Enc.; Hastings Dict. of Bib.; Int'l. Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps.)
8. Archaeological work in Egypt. (Barton, AB; Breasted, HE; Oriental Inst. Pub.; see Bibliog. in Baikie, LAE, p. 449.)
9. Evidences of animism in the Moses story. (Atkins, PG; Frazier, GB; GMI; Wild, EHP, VII-IX, XII.)
10. Petra, Edom and the Edomites. (Libbey and Hoskins, JVP; Palmer, DE; Robinson, SAC; Trumbull, KB.)
c. Sanitation and health in ancient Egypt. (Breasted, HE; Weigall, GP; Wilkinson, MCAE.)
d. The methods of the ancient priesthood. (Atkins, PG; Booth, BB, pp. 105-106; Frazer, GB; Heidel, DY; Lods, I.)
e. A bibliography of travellers and travels in Arabia. (e.g. cf. Kent, BGH, p. 281.)
f. Ancient spring festivals and the Passover. (Heidel, DY, III; Lods, I; Smith, OTH, pp. 67 ff.; Wild, EHP, p. 118 et passim.)
g. The geography and culture of Moab. (Albright, APB; Kent, BGH; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I; Encyclopedic Ref.)
h. The psychological effect of an oracle. (Cutten, PPC; James, VRE; Macintosh et al., RR, IX; Standard texts on Psychology, under "Suggestion.")

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11. Jericho, its excavation and its remains. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB; Garstang, JJ; and in Manchester Guardian, q.v.; Lods, I; Macalister, CEP.)
12. Democratic elements in desert life. (Bell, DS; Kent, STPJ; McCown, GSG, V; Soares, SIIB; Wallis, SSB; Wild, EHP, index.)
13. The Philistines. (Baikie, SKC; Bewer, LOT, p. 21; Breasted, AT, p. 202, IX; Macalister, PHC; Olmstead, HPS, XVII; Petrie, SYA; Bull. ASOR, No. 45, p. 26.)
14. Pottery remains in Palestine. (Badè, in JBL, L; Barton, AB, VIII.)
15. The Hebrew use of Canaanite sanctuaries. (Barton, AB, XI; Lods, I; Macalister, EG; Petrie, EI, pp. 47 ff.; Wiener, AOT.)
16. The Yahweh faith in the Judges period. (Heidel, DY, pp. 445 ff.; Lods, I, pp. 451 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, under Yahweh; Wild, EHP, p. 119.)
i. Geological aspects of the Jordan valley. (Albright, in Ann. ASOR, VI, pp. 13 ff.; Bailey and Kent, HHC; Kent, BGH; Libbey and Hoskins, JVP; Robinson, SAC.)

j. A review of the theories of Burney and Garstang. (Burney, BJ; ISC; Garstang, JJ.)
k. Aegean civilization. (Baikie, SKC; Breasted, AT; Cambridge Ancient History; Evans, PM; Glotz, AC; Hall, AA; AHNE; Thorndike, SHC.)
l. Hebrew appropriation of pre-Hebraic religious festivals. (Godbey, LTM; Heidel, DY; Lods, I.)
m. The Nazirites. (Smith, OTH, p. 103; see Con. Bib. Enc.; Hastings Dict. of Bib.; Oxford Helps, p. 214.)
n. The traditional allotment of the Hebrew tribes in the light of archaeology. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, map No. 6; Lods, I, pp. 327 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol I, pp. 112-137.)
o. Cave deposits in Palestine. (Barton, AB, XII; Garrod, in *Man*, q.v.; Lods, I; Olmstead, HPS; Bull. ASOR, No. 45, p. 21.)

CHAPTER IV

INSTRUCTIONS

Note: This is a long section covering biblical material in the books of Samuel and chapters 1-12 in 1 Kings; it represents a unified epoch and revolves around four distinct personalities.

1. Organize the biblical reading by dividing it into four parts: (1) The story of Samuel; (2) of Saul; (3) of David; (4) of Solomon. (Refer to indexes in such works as: Bailey and Kent, HHC; Barton, HHP; Budde, S; Cambridge Ancient History; Church, IS, IX; Clarendon Bible, vol. II; Kent, FRUI; McFadyen, MPPH, VII-X; Moehlman, UB, p. 33; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, IX-XI; Olmstead, HPS; Smith, OTH, VII-IX; Wild, EHP.)

a. Outline the steps in transition from the judgeship to kingship. (Church, IS, pp. 243-249; Kent, FRUI; STPJ; Wallis, SSB; Wild, EHP.)

b. Read Browning's "Saul."

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2. It will be helpful to write down the main events for each, and note carefully the secondary characters involved in the story.

3. Locate place names on maps. Make a new outline map of Palestine and locate all place names concerned in the David-Saul story, number each one, and prepare a table of these numbers with the events that took place there. (Maps Nos. 7 and 8; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, maps; Olmstead, HPS, maps.)

c. Study carefully the topography of places mentioned, and any archaeological discoveries made at these sites. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB, XI; Hall, AHNE; Lods, I; Macalister, CEP; Olmstead, HPS, XX-XXII, index.)

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4. Read up on the nature and contents of the books of Samuel. (Church, IS, pp. 246-269; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 165 ff.; Driver, ILOT, pp. 172 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, III; Kent, GCOT, pp. 58-64; Wild, LGB, pp. 112-113; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 58-61; Oxford Helps, pp. 41-43.)

5. Note the growth of the kingdom. In colors on outline map indicate its extent in time of Saul; of David; of Solomon. Also indicate Solomon's tax districts. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, maps; Barton, HHP; Dougherty, CPSPS; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 255-265; Olmstead, HPS, XX-XXII; Oxford Helps, Pl. 4 and 5.)

d. List the virtues of the four main characters in this section; and compare their religious ideas and attitudes.

e. In available sources try to get some idea of the Solomonic temple. (Edersheim, T; Kent, IHBN, pp. 180-193; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 345 ff.; Smith, OTH, pp. 161-168.)

The United Kingdom Period

HOW DID THE HEBREW KINGDOM START?

Transition.—Before that unity was achieved, one last towering figure of the old régime appeared. The story of Eli and his sons is an introduction to the real hero, Samuel. Just how much of the Eli material can be taken as sober history is a question. Undoubtedly Shiloh was an important shrine,[1] with an officiating priest. Eli is omitted from the list in 1 Chronicles 6:1-15. Samuel is an Ephraimite rather than Levite, yet is found ministering in the holiest precincts of the shrine of the sacred ark.[2] Clearly, Yahwehism had not settled down to a fixed form.

The aged Eli and his roistering sons were unfit to control Israel. Samuel's opportunity came when the fatal contest with the Philistines brought death to Eli's sons and a fatal stroke to the blind priest. The ark, talisman and charm to that primitive Hebrew world, had been carried as an assurance of Yahweh's presence in battle. The Philistines stole it. The luck was gone, and faith upset.

The love of embellishment may have colored the narratives about the ark in Philistia, but the tradition at least correctly associates the plague of mice and the eruptions of bubonic plague.[3] Possibly the ark itself carried the infection, for a similar plague later swept over the Hebrews who handled it, even though they were presumably en-titled to do so as Yahweh's own people. The custom of molding little images of ailing parts of the body, or of troublesome pests, and seeking the gods' favor by sympathetic magic, was common. The Philistines resorted to this time-honored rite, and sent ark, images and their troubles back to the highlanders.

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[1] A Danish expedition excavating this site has established occupancy as early as 2000 B.C. Mallon, *Biblica,* 1929, 369 ff. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 294, states that it was founded in the thirteenth century by Ephraimites.

[2] Supposedly only a high priest could do this. In later years he alone entered the Holy of Holies once a year.

[3] This may have swept in from Egypt. The seaport towns would be exposed.

The sudden outbreak of plague among the Hebrews also caused them to shun the ark, even though they prized it. Abinadab of Kirjath-Jearim placed it in his house (why the plague or ark taboo spared him is not discussed) and ordained his son as priest. Here again is something far different from the elaborate Aaronite ritual supposedly set up by Moses in the wilderness. To read these stories, one would think Moses, the Law, and the Ten Commandments had never been heard of. Yet the very existence of Yahwehism and the ark indicate that back of the elaborate expansions of the Pentateuch lie valid traditions of Israel's beginnings.

Samuel.—To meet Samuel is to meet one of the great minds of history. He is far more than an interesting little boy hearing voices in the night; and far greater than a grouchy priest quarreling with Saul over his ecclesiastical prerogatives. The death of Eli and a new Philistine aggression thrust Samuel into prominence. Mizpah, the old center, was selected as the rallying point. Again there is the ceremony of pouring out a libation, (1 Sam. 7:5) possibly in the ancient cup-holes that have so mystified the archaeologist. A sudden Philistine sally was repulsed by Israel, and Samuel set up a stone, which recalls the hundreds of monoliths found in Palestine, but usually associated with the baal cults. Was Samuel so much a child of his own day that he saw in these plinths a way of honoring Yahweh? Later prophets poured their scorn upon these sacred pillars, or *maṣṣebôth.*

Samuel's Versatility.—Samuel's activities extended far beyond that of *šôpheṭ,* though he is pictured as holding circuit court, as it were, at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah.[4] This may be a later interpretation of his activities at these shrines. Samuel certainly adds to the duties of *šôphet* a complete functioning as *kôhen*, or priest. In addition, he has an element of the prophet or *nabî*, for he not only casts the sacred lot but he serves as a preacher of righteousness and conserver of the old sterling qualities of the Hebrew.

Samuel's Theory of Government.—To Samuel, the ideal state was a theocratic democracy, a state ruled according to the conceived will of Yahweh by a devoted leader from the popular ranks, guided by his own religious consciousness or advised by such prophetic souls as might from time to time arise. This was the *Idée Suprême* of this majestic soul who stood alone in the No-man's Land of cultural transition. With this idea, Israel might conserve the old values while providing for progress and for unified leadership. The rule would be democratic; unity would be centered in a common Yahweh faith for all the tribes.

The disturbing factor was the Hebrew demand for a king, or *melek*. The *melek* of the Canaanite was his *ba'al* or lord. The popular demand for a king was inevitable, but Samuel's opposition was equally sure, for he saw beyond the first popular king to the days of courts and palaces. A *melek* would demand money; he would draft the youth of the land for his army and the girlhood of the land for his harem. With the kingship would come the end of the homely democracy of the *šôphet*. It takes neither poet nor psychologist to understand that here is a great man; a man with a noble mind and a breaking heart.

True to his prophetic instincts, Samuel, though bending to the will of the people and of God, selected his first *melek* on *šôphet* principles. Saul, son of Kish, came from a good but ordinary family. He was an agricultural Hebrew, showing that adaptation had already been made from nomadic to Palestinian life. His traditional stature would be advantageous in leading his followers. Thus we have a man of possible ability, chosen from the ranks, to serve and to rule according to what he can contribute to the common welfare. Samuel had gracefully and diplomatically fused popular demand and his own idealism.

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[4] Badè uncovered at Mizpah (1932) a complete city gate, showing stone seats where elders of city probably gathered to consider local problems. Samuel would be acceptable to such a group.

The Prophetic Party.—The first introduction to the prophetic school or party comes in the strange narrative of Saul's sudden religious fervor as he trudges homeward after Samuel's secret anointing ceremony. Little is known of the exact character of these prophets (*nebi'îm*) or their rites. Ignorance may be covered by simply calling them Yahweh enthusiasts. The Hebrew word for prophet, *nabî,* means "to speak out," or "speak forth." A change of one letter in the root makes it signify boiling,[5] bubbling. Certainly the Hebrew prophets were distinctly religious enthusiasts who bubbled over, often boiled hotly, and bravely spoke out for God.[6] Their inspiration was not that of trance or epilepsy, but a divine fire illumined their minds and there was inbreathed into them a clarity of vision that made them outstanding leaders. God inspires the minds of men; they can work their own tongue muscles.

The Hebrew term, *benê* (sons) was not confined to biological concepts. As one might speak of "a son of the soil" or "a son of India," so the *benê nebi'îm,* "sons of the prophets," were those of prophetic mind,—a prophetic guild or party. In due time, this prophetic party was to become not only a prime factor in Hebrew politics and religion, but to become one of the unique movements of human history. Lone religious leaders have appeared; religious parties have played politics; but only the Hebrew prophetic movement produced a school of religious

[5] So Gesenius and Kuenen. See Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon.*

[6] The root *naba'* meaning to boil or bubble is so found in Assyrian, Phoenician, and other Semitic dialects. The English word "prophet" is from the Greek "*prophētēs*" as applied to a pagan oracle or fortune teller. The Hebrew term back of *prophētēs* is *nabî,* and basically does not signify a pagan fortune teller but a keen enthusiastic religionist whose superior mind and spiritual alertness enable him to see the tendency and outcome of definite causes. Thus he predicts, but not in a trance sense.

thought, a succession of star leaders, and a literature that transcends all other in sheer beauty, spiritual power and common sense.

Saul Among the Prophets.—To such a band of primitive Yahweh enthusiasts Saul joined himself and for a whole day he was caught up in their enthusiasm. It may be that in this early day there were elements of whirling dervish activity, with symbolic dance, or tambourine, or religious acclaim. Be that as it may, Yahwehism had staunch support in this movement that fostered the simple idealism and naturalness of the desert as against the debasing sophistication of baal cults. Saul was in good company. Such an experience might steady him later on.

The Jabesh-Gilead Incident.—In spite of popular demand for the kingship, the old Hebraic democracy still hung on. Saul was not king until at Mizpah Samuel had presented him to the people. Saul was not only *se*lected, but virtually *e*lected by popular acclaim. Far more significant is the fact that he went back to his farm and plowing until the Jabesh-Gilead incident called forth his prowess as leader in good old *šôphet* style. When Nahash, the Amonite required the right eye of every fighting man as the price of peace, it was too much. A shield always obscured the left eye. That right eye was worth fighting for.

The news of this insult was the necessary jolt to the farmer boy. Like a true tribesman his fury arose. The spirit of Yahweh rushed upon him—and primitive Hebrew thought ascribed any overwhelming emotion, even murderous anger, to Yahweh. The carved and bloody pieces of oxen would excite blood lust and rally the clans. A united Israel was in process of forming. At last a group of *Ḫabiri* were to become permanent occupants of the land. Let their neighbors and enemies call them *'Ibrîm*, or border jumpers. It was becoming their land and their border. Their nickname would cleave to it forever, theirs and that of the *Pelištîm*,—Palestine, land of the Hebrews.

The Philistine Menace.—On the west the Philistines still looked askance at the highlands. They feared the Hebrews and hoped to destroy a possible menace to their lowland farms. More than one war of aggression has been prompted by fear rather than courage. This Philistine control of southern Palestine went so far as to reduce the Hebrews to abject fear. Tradition says that they took to caves and underbrush. No iron weapons were allowed, and Philistia controlled the supply of this precious metal that moulded the destinies of Hittite and Egyptian. Agricultural tools were permitted, but their sharpening and repair was a Philistine monopoly with a fixed scale of prices.[7] Much of the Saul story is taken up with the heartbreaking struggle with Philistia, which at the same time provides an introductory setting for the great David cycle of tradition.

Saul vs. Samuel.—The break-down of Saul's mind and morale is one of those bitter tragedies of history. There is no profit in blaming either Samuel or God. Saul at the beginning looked good, and the eternal God has given many a man his chance regardless of later disappointment. Probably Saul's condition would be correctly analyzed today, an incipient insanity, aggravated by melancholia, and under the prod of jealousy taking the form of a homicidal monomania.[8] Music might soothe the condition, but not cure it.

Saul's supreme error came in the break with Samuel. One feels that he was more or less sincere in his offering of sacrifice before going into battle. He had waited a long time for Samuel. Hebrew religion had many a precedent for a private individual acting as priest and sacrificer.[9] On the other hand, Samuel was not churlishly annoying

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[7] 1 Sam. 13:31 has long been a troublesome passage. The discovery of little weights marked *payîm* has solved the problem. For sharpening the smaller tools there was a *pim,* says the Hebrew. The *pim* was not a file but a bit of money, the fee. Some of these actual weights are now in the collection at Haverford College, Pa. See Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* text and plates.

[8] Such insanity frequently confines its murderous attention to one person; in this case, David.

[9] Note Abraham, Micah, Eleazer, and others. There was no temple or fixed ritual as yet.

Saul in order to demonstrate and guarantee his own power. This was not a contest of rulers, it was a conflict and test of ideals.

The Real Issue.—Samuel had functioned as *šôphet*, *kôhen* and *nabî* but never as *melek*. This did not violate the basic Hebrew genius. Saul had functioned as *šôphet*, (in the early stages,) *nabî*, (just once,) and *melek*; but never as *kôhen*. Up to this point there had always been one element out of four that by its omission established a limit to absolutism. When Saul offered sacrifice he assumed the fourth and last function. He became theoretically absolute. That was what Samuel had feared. That was the danger of kingship. That would be complete surrender of the Yahwehistic idealism of the desert. It is doubtful whether Saul fully sensed what he had done, but Samuel did. Such a union of state and religion meant baalism, absolute control of the governed, body and soul.

Saul's break with Samuel became complete when he abetted the people in their crime of letting Agag escape and keeping the finest cattle, devoting the worthless stuff to Yahweh. The excuse that the fat cattle would be sacrificed later did not convince Samuel. To him, obedience was far more important than sacrifice, and he was probably right. These rude Hebrews needed discipline. Saul without Samuel was as a ship without a pilot. It was fatal. The brains of the coalition were gone.

The Jonathan Episodes.—Woven in with the story of Saul are the truly beautiful narratives of Jonathan, his son, and the initial David incidents. A photograph or topographical map of Michmash vivifies the exploit of Jonathan and his armor-bearer climbing up the rocky defile to execute a *coup* upon the unsuspecting Philistines.[10] One is further drawn to Jonathan in the subsequent event when his father's rash edict against eating food until evening is inadvertently broken. Though Jonathan innocently ate wild honey, nothing might have come from it had not Saul attempted to secure an oracle without results. Presumably the failure was caused by the famished army gorging on unclean food.

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[10] See Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. Note also the ancient humor in the Philistine banter, telling these Hebrews to come on up and learn something. Literally in the Hebrew they were to "come up and hear a word."

The oracle was sought through the sacred lot, probably cast by the priest who used the inscribed gems or pieces from the ephod. The ark had failed to assure victory in a crisis, so Saul called for the ephod,[11] some sort of ritual garment or container for the sacred lot. The question would be of the categorical answer type, requiring a yes-or-no answer,—shall we go or not? Will we win or lose? Is he guilty or not? Is it this man or that?

On casting the lots Jonathan's accidental breaking of tabu was revealed. Jonathan had already criticized his father's vow, convinced that the army would have fared better against the Philistines on a full stomach. Though Saul would have killed his own son to keep his vow, the old Hebrew democracy flared up and the people demanded that Jonathan be spared. Saul had to adjust his theology as best he could!

The Early Kingdom.—This kingdom of the declining Saul was never large. His capital was at Gibeah, situated on a steep hill, 2800 feet above the sea. Excavation has revealed a crude palace fortress on top, covering the more primitive one destroyed in the Levi-Gibeah quarrel over the murdered concubine. A narrow hall led to a massive stairway, and on the second floor were the king's quarters. In the débris bronze arrow heads, round sling stones, fragments of great storage jars for wine, oil and grain have been discovered. The pottery was crude, with no Philistine trace. Gibeah's ruins speak eloquently of the primitive culture level of this early Hebrew kingdom.

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[11] The present Bible text says that Saul called for the ark but the shrine at Nob probably reverenced the ephod. An ark that did not guarantee victory was less useful than an oracle that would keep them out of difficulty. Fortunately, the Septuagint has preserved another reading, where Saul says "Bring hither the ephod. For he (Ahijah the priest?) wore the ephod before Israel at that time." See *International Critical Commentary*; Kent, *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives,* 73 n.

WHO WAS DAVID?

Beginning of the David Cycles.—No one knows just how David first entered Saul's court. The Bible itself varies in its implications. One narrative indicates that Samuel, seeing the inevitable doom of Saul, felt called of God to search out and anoint a promising youth, David, son of Jesse, a sheep raiser with a fairly large family of boys. Jesse seems to have been a man of influence in the Bethlehem region, firmly entrenched through marriage relations with the Amalekites—a fact which might explain some of Saul's fears about David. If David was first made armor-bearer to the king, it was a political advantage to both Saul and Jesse, a guarantee of immunity and alliance. David's desire to marry the daughter of the king, Michal, was a bond or a threat, depending upon point of view. Saul's insanity did not blind his eyes to such implications. No wonder he set the condition of a hundred dead Philistines. It was a possible way of removing the troublesome upstart from the South.

Another version makes David the little unknown harpist called in to soothe Saul's chaotic brain and allay the mad fits of melancholia. A third introduction is furnished by David, the youngest brother, bringing dainties to camp and challenging Goliath. They try to put Saul's armor upon him and he fairly slips through it. He meets the brawny ruffian with brainy courage, using his shepherd's sling effectively—a part of the story that need raise no question as to its possibility. But when he returns from the conflict, Saul has to inquire who this new hero is, a strange situation if he had been playing the harp in court.

Popular Hero Stories.—A look at 2 Sam. 21:15-22; 23:9-11 soon reveals that the stories of David's *gibbôrîm* or Mighty Men of Valor, Eleazer at the battle field of Ephes-damim, Elhanan slayer of Goliath of Gath, Abisshai who faced a giant with a lance weighing 300 shekels, and

Jonathan who dispatched a giant with six fingers and toes where five ought to be, supply most of the elements of the plot. The main difference is that in certain of the *gibbôrîm* stories David is hard pressed and in danger of death, while in the Goliath story he is master of the situation. There is nothing actually impossible in the Goliath story, yet it has been suggested that it is one of those beautiful and spiritually useful literary gems synthesized out of fragments that in themselves combine historical exploits and dramatic amplification.

Summary.—All that can be certainly said is that in some way David was inducted into Saul's court. He may have served as armor-bearer; he may have played; he may have fought. Whatever the details, the chanting of admiring women proclaiming,

"Saul has slain thousands,
But David ten times as many!"

was enough to drive the brooding Saul to jealous madness. From that time on, David was in danger, and the biblical story centers on him as Saul gradually fades out of the picture.

A Fugitive.—The beautiful Jonathan and David affection, giving rise to episodes that are classic examples of friendship, could not divert Saul's murderous melancholy. His javelin practice became too accurate. David had to leave the court.

At the old shrine of Nob, David and a few followers, seeking food, induced Ahimelek the priest to give them the consecrated bread. The old Jacob-Esau quarrel flared up again when Doeg, an Edomite muleteer, betrayed Ahimelek to Saul and gloated in his bloody privilege of executing forty-eight Israelite priests. Saul was in dangerous mood; and villains are always obtainable. David received the bread, took the sword of Goliath out of the local museum, and in the cave of Adullam he established outlaw headquarters, where several hundred refugees soon joined him.

The placing of David's parents in the hands of a Moabite sheik recalls two things. In the first place, tradition was that Ruth, his ancestor, was a Moabitess. He had a blood relationship claim on these east Jordan nomads. In the second place, even today Moab is an isolated region dominated by tribal custom and law. Moab was the safest place for beloved non-combatants.

David's Outlaw Life.—The outlaw life of David is a strange and interesting episode. He is not a criminal, but one outside the law, as represented by Saul.

There is a genius for leadership and popularity in David's character. Far from being a robber, David establishes a sort of private police force. When the Philistines rob the threshing floors of Keilah, it is David's band that drives the invaders out. Saul shows little gratitude, and the subsequent game of hide and seek is enlivened by the stories of David's chances to kill or humiliate him. He refuses to "raise his hand against the Lord's anointed." To a Hebrew, a king was in a special position, placed there by Yahweh's will. It was a simple theory of divine right, but fortunately the Hebrew religionists tended to supplement the divine right of kings with the theory of the heavy responsibility of kings. Kingship was a blend of right and righteousness.

It is in this spirit that David flees to Horesh (The Forest) only to be betrayed by the local leaders and flee to Maon where an intervening hill separates him from Saul. He finds Saul defenseless in a cave and cuts a souvenir from his tunic. Again he slips into Saul's camp by night and runs off with his water jug and spear which in the light of dawn he waves in sight of Abner, Saul's body-guard, while taunting him about his valor and efficiency.

A Hebrew Short Story.—In the lull in hostilities that followed, the attempt was made to collect a fee from

Nabal, a local sheep herder who had had a good season. Owing to David's presence, stealing had been prevented. This Hebrew short story has plot, delightful flashes of humor and valuable elements of primitive custom. It is shearing time. David's men come and suggest a gift. Nabal profanely refuses. David plans revenge. Abigail sets forth secretly with gifts of food, a perfect nomad's menu. Alighting before David she confesses guilt, which David promptly denies. Then she describes her foolish husband but rebukes David for not treating with her, the real head of the house, in the first place! Instead of insulting David with a present, she casually remarks that here is stuff for his men to enjoy. Her return is dramatic. Nabal is drunk. Next morning he hears of his wife's defection. It is *lèse majesté*. A sudden paralytic stroke induced by emotional shock after a prolonged drunken debauch brings the situation to a climax in perfectly good scientific medical terms.

Of course, David marries the wealthy, charming widow!

A Grim Age.—Outlaw life was too uncertain. David sought a better situation. Achish (probably an Aegean with a Greek name, Anchises) king of the Philistine city of Gath doubtless saw good diplomatic and military reasons for harboring the David band. The same type of reasons prompted David innocently to request the border town of Ziklag as headquarters. Thence his band swept the country. Ostensibly they were worrying Israel; actually they were weakening the border tribes, the buffer outposts between the highlands and Philistia.

It is a grim picture of the time,—little towns wiped out; not a soul left to carry warning to the king of Gath. Glibly David reported great sorties against the Israelites. Murder and falsehood seem strange adornments for the later enshrined character of David. It was a world in which good men saw no incongruity in fostering what they believed to be divine will through devilish means. Yahweh was more a God of war than of love.

WHO TOLD ABOUT HIM?

The Books of Samuel.—The final chapters of 1 Samuel and the beginning of 2 Samuel aptly illustrate the character of this whole body of literature. The books obviously were not written by Samuel, as his death is reported in 1 Sam. 25. In the Septuagint the books of Samuel are designated as 1st and 2d Kings, followed by 3d and 4th Kings.[12] Ancient legends, southern and northern traditions (the blending of which explains many of the duplicate narratives[13]), ark stories, and possible court records, all entered into the final composition. Later editors (Deuteronomic?) added touches, as evidenced by such an unrelated chapter as 2 Sam. 8, briefly summarizing much of chapters 9-20. It may have saved many sheets of parchment and much scribal labor in some ancient edition of these books which long ago mouldered into dust.[14] In such a collection the story of the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28), the sack of Ziklag and the subsequent annihilation of the carousing Amalekites (1 Sam. 30), the tragedy of Saul's death and exposure of his body on the wall of Beth-shan, the subsequent recovery[15] and cremation[16] of the body (1 Sam. 31), the summary execution of the lying Amalekite ghoul who claimed to have killed Saul and displayed the royal bracelet and crown (2 Sam. 1), would all be woven into a narrative of great power.

Authentic Fragments.—Two especially valuable items are embedded in this matrix of tradition. The first is a bit of primitive law which can be observed in the making.

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[12] Which now appear as the 1st and 2d Kings of the English Bible.

[13] This is especially true in 1 Sam. 7 to 2 Sam. 2, and in much of the Saul tradition.

[14] See Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament;* Eiselen, *Prophetic Books of the Old Testament;* Bewer, *Literature of the Old Testament;* Wild, *Literary Guide to the Bible;* and Commentaries.

[15] Saul had rescued Jabesh-Gilead as the first act of his reign, hence the act of gratitude.

[16] The Hebrews did not use cremation. The very fact that a custom not wholly acceptable to Hebrew writers is definitely preserved in the narrative argues its historical accuracy. One might have expected the writers to delete the story of the burning of the body of an Israelite King.

After the Amalekite raid, the returning soldiers object to dividing spoil with the rear guards. David, in the spirit of the old *šôphet*, decides the issue. In Hebrew it is preserved in rhythmic form, easily remembered, handed down by word of mouth for centuries:

> As is the share of him who fights the battle
> So is the share of him who guards supplies
> They share and share alike.

This is the way early Semitic law was made. It became a statute in Israel.

The second item is David's lament over Saul and Jonathan. The careful scholar is slow to assign psalms to David, knowing that the superscriptions were added long after the original poems were written; but this beautiful dirge embedded in the closing Saul tradition bears the earmarks of authentic folk ballad, falling from the lips of a contemporary poetic genius. It may well be a genuine "psalm of David." The Bible itself suggests its antiquity by recording that it is quoted from the book of Jasher, the lost anthology of early Hebrew verse.

The death of Saul forced the issue of David's growing popularity. No law of succession existed in Israel. Ishbaal,[17] Saul's forty year old son, with the help of Saul's cousin, Abner, as commander in chief of the northern army, set up a provisional government at Mahanaim, east of Jordan. Meanwhile David consulted the oracle of Yahweh. Should he leave Ziklag and go up into the Judean highlands or not? The sacred lot indicated "yes." A second lot designated Hebron, the old family center.

The Sacred Lot.—This use of the lot is found again in a later episode when the Philistines attempt to revive the old aggression. After an initial victory at Baal-perazim, David consults the oracle. The sign of the wind in the mulberry trees is to be the signal for a flank attack. Just how they "inquired of Yahweh" is not fully known. Abiathar, the priest, is represented as giving oracular advice. Moses was supposed to have consulted Yahweh. The ephod and sacred lot were commonly used. The law of averages and clear headed vision on the part of the great religionists were undoubtedly blended in this whole primitive institution.

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[17] The name means "Man of Baal," and was so offensive to later pious writers that they substituted *bošeth* "shame" for the detestable idolatrous term *baʿal*; or it may be that *bošeth* was intended as senseless jargon to cover the objectionable element in the name. See Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, 193.

HOW DID HE GET THE THRONE?

The Hebron Rally.—In the Hebron headquarters, the southern tribes, probably including Simeon, Calebites and Kenites with Judah, selected David as king. It made him *melek*, but the road to the kingship and the method of selection was distinctly that of the ancient *šôphet*. David was an accepted leader who had earned his position, rather than an oriental despot. (His despotism was to come later.)

Rival War Lords.—Joab, stern, bloody, loyal supporter of the Davidic dynasty, became the empire builder. The story of his first brush with the forces of Ish-baal at the pool of Gibeon has elements of a stadium contest. The two opponents arrived at the pool. They sat down on opposite sides, like rival schools. The captains called out their teams, twelve on a side, trial by champion being a common way of settling disputes. Evenly matched, the twenty-four swordsmen killed each other to a man—playing the game to a tie. "And the battle was very fierce that day." The game broke up in a free-for-all fight!

As captain Abner fled from the field, Asahel, Joab's brother, pursued him. Abner warned him to desist, but hot blood spurred him on until Abner, without ever turning, jabbed his spear into him with a vicious backward thrust. It was clever work, but sealed Abner's doom, for Joab pledged blood revenge. His chance came after Abner had quarreled with Ish-baal over Rizpah one of the harem inmates. Ish-baal interpreted marriage to a royal concubine as a sly method of establishing a claim to the throne. Abner resented his rebuff, saying he was no Calebite, or Dog Clan member from the south.[18]

Denied Rizpah, Abner sought alliance with David, offering to swing the northern faction over to him. David, who would not lift his hand against Ish-baal, who as the son of Saul might be classed as the Lord's anointed, had no objection to another election if the north so desired. His one condition was that his first wife, Michal, daughter of Saul, be returned to him. Whether it was love or politics is hard to say. The Bible indicates that Michal really loved her new husband, Paltiel, just as she had probably loved David before success brought him too many new wives. David's affections were never overly restricted. If Abner entered his court and brought Rizpah, Saul's former concubine, oriental custom would hold Abner a serious pretender to the throne. The situation could be balanced by Michal, a daughter of Saul. Considering the fact that David soon quarreled with her, his demand savors of astute diplomacy.

The whole conference ended in tragedy. After entertainment at Hebron, Abner was waylaid by Joab on the road. Joab's trusty dagger again did its work of simplifying David's problems. David's sure poetic genius again functioned diplomatically as he publicly disavowed the act, smoothed out the international complications, and left another literary fragment that is probably authentic. The short quatrain is a dirge of pathos and power:

Must Abner die as dies a fool
With hands unbound and feet unchained?
By ruthless men who brook no rule
  Thou art slain.

The King Maker.—The character of Joab has been variously interpreted. From certain angles his support of David is but a bid for power. King he could not be, but king maker he would be. On the other hand, he inevitably struck for David whenever a crisis arose, even against the king's orders. Joab's conduct might be interpreted as one of those strange obsessions of loyalty to an idea that occasionally turns the course of history. Joab slays personal enemies, but there is always an element of help to David in the act. His opportune murders saved many a weary hour of fretting over subtle problems. Whatever the motive, Joab's activity was of dynastic import. It established the House of David.

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[18] The Biblical text is uncertain. Ostensibly he asks whether Ish-baal thinks he is a dog's head of Judah. Probably the term *keleb* "dog," applied first to a clan, was later interpreted as an insulting epithet, to which a scribe added an explanatory phrase "that belongeth to Judah." Abner could as well have said it, thus denying Ish-baal's accusation in the strongest possible language.

Misguided Zeal.—The ways to royal favor are devious in the orient. Rechab and Baanah, officers in Ish-bosheth's army, figured on promotion when they sneaked into the royal apartments, cut off Ish-bosheth's head, and rushed with it to David at Hebron. David's diplomacy or fine feelings,—and the biblical narrative portrays a David whose real motives are difficult to analyze,—caused him vigorously to disavow this act by rebuking the assassins, cutting off their hands and feet and hanging the bodies up for public view by the local reservoir. Vengeance was more important in that ancient world than purity of water supply.

King of United Israel.—There was still a Saul claimant to the throne, Merib-baal,[19] a poor cripple, maimed through the carelessness of a nurse. His very name, a possible compound of Egyptian and Palestinian elements, shows how unstable Hebrew culture was religiously as well as politically.[20] David, as husband of Saul's daughter, might legitimately claim the northern throne. The northerners themselves caught the idea, repaired to Hebron and there elected David their king.

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[19] Merib-baal (1 Chron. 8:34) is elsewhere called Mephibosheth, (*cf.* 2 Sam., chapters 4, 9, 16 and 21), probably in an attempt to cover up the hated *baʿal* element in the name.

[20] Prince Amon, son of Manasseh (2 Kg. 21) in the seventh century B.C., seems to be an instance of an Egyptian name. The personal name of Rameses II was *Ramses-merî-Amon*, "Ramses beloved of Amon"; and his divine name *Hor-ka-naḫton-merî-Maat*, "Horus, the mighty bull who loves the truth." If Merib-baal does include the Egyptian element, *merî*, then "Beloved of Baal" would be eloquent of the chaotic political and religious thinking of these early Hebrews. On the other hand, if the double *b* is not a mere doubling of the consonant, but indicates that the first element is from the Hebrew root meaning "to grow great" or "increase," then a pure Semitic name "Increase of Baal" results. In either case, it is certainly not Yahwehistic.

Hebrew desert democracy was tenacious. Saul was elected or confirmed by the people at Gilgal. David, the second king over a united Israel, was seated through two elections at Hebron. As Saul was tested by the Jabesh Gilead incident, David was faced by a last desperate Philistine sortie in the valley of Rephaim. David mustered his men at the old Adullam stronghold. The Philistines actually seized Hebron. In this crisis two oracles were given, first to attack the Philistines, which was done successfully, second to outflank them when the sound of wind in the mulberry trees signalled the advance of Yahweh's invisible host. Several thrilling hero stories are interwoven in the tradition, some of which may have become confused with the famous Goliath story.

HOW DID HE BUILD UP THE KINGDOM?

Ancient Jerusalem.—Hebron could never be the capital of an important central Palestinian kingdom. It was not adequately defensible and above all it was southern. Twenty miles north, on neutral ground between the northern and southern tribes, was the strongest fortified city of the region. Jebus (Jerusalem), the city of the Jebusites, occupied a coveted site that had known man since the stone ages. A great rock (now covered by the mosque of Omar and bearing the characteristic cup marks and caves of the typical pre-historic Palestinian shrine) cropped out not far from a rocky ridge, Ophel, with its indispensible spring, Gihon, at the base. A cave on the northwest side has yielded calcholithic remains. By 3000 B.C. the little depression cutting the north approach to the Ophel ridge had been augmented by a moat, 10′ x 8′, and a rude wall.

By David's time the Jebusites had sections of wall forty feet thick. Two bastions have been identified as Jebusite and may represent contemporary preparations to meet the inevitable attack of this upstart Hebrew king. An ancient city could starve for many days, but water was imperative. The Gihon spring lay far below at the base of the ridge. Early man needed water and a stony hill from which he could hurl missiles upon his foes. A wall about Ophel could not possibly take in the spring. With primitive tools the early inhabitants hacked a passage down through the soft rock to a room over a shaft, whence a tunnel led downward to a forty foot shaft down which buckets were lowered to the water dippers. They stood at the end of a canal which had been run back fifty feet from the original spring.

There was one vulnerable point. The spring cave had an opening to the outside. David besieged the city, while the usual ancient by-play of insults tossed between besiegers and defenders went on. The Jebusites remarked that lame and blind folk could hold their wall against these Hebrews. Meanwhile, some scout had found the secret passage to the spring. "Whoever would smite the Jebusites, let him climb up through the tunnel!" Caught between a breach in the north wall and these Hebrew sappers, the Jebusite defenders had no chance.[21] David had the finest capital in the Near East.[22]

Statesmanship.—The capture of Jerusalem was the guarantee of a United Kingdom. It was David's first great act of statesmanship. It lay off the main commercial road along the sea, but it tapped the North-South highland road and the treasures of Arabia. The armies of the Nile and Euphrates might clash for years without laboring up the burning gorges to this fortress, high on the central plateau. Its relative isolation was its safety. To the south lay the bad lands, the wilderness of Judea merging into the trackless desert. Only from the north could Jerusalem be seriously threatened, and the lines of successive north walls are still the despair of archaeologists.

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[21] On the archaeology of Jerusalem see Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem;* Macalister, *Century of Excavation in Palestine;* Barton, *op. cit.;* Olmstead, *op. cit.;* and encyclopedic sources. The Bible does not mention the breach in the north wall, but archaeological evidence indicates it. This breach was closed up again, presumably by Hebrew workmen, by a three-and-a-half-foot wall inside, built mostly of smaller re-cut blocks.

[22] The idea that David literally commanded the soldiers to massacre the lame and blind may be a later literalistic editor's addition to the story. An over-pious lack of humor has often caused weighty interpretations of a bit of delightfully human tradition. The taunt from the wall was characteristic of the time. It was a grim jest, not solemn fact.

Beth-shan was soon sacked.[23] The stores of grain and olive oil were fired and today the archaeologist finds the remains of Beth-shan's walls scarred with the terrific heat of burning grain and oil. On the north Phoenicia was in friendly mood. Tyre needed the export products of central Palestine; Israel could extend trade through Tyrian ships. Northern cedar made fine interior finish. David could use Phoenician masons and carpenters for his palace. "Culture began when he (David) copied foreign palaces."[24]

The second act of statesmanship was the centralization of religion in the new and neutral capital. Shiloh, Mizpah, Gilgal, had served in their day. Each had a noble and ancient tradition. Each could become a rallying point for factions, but with the ark and ephod in Jerusalem all eyes and all authority would converge on the capitol.

Breaking Tabu.—The story of bringing the ark to Jerusalem raises one of the characteristic knotty problems so often presented in the Bible. En route, a perfectly honest and god-fearing Hebrew, Uzzah, attempted to steady the ark as it threatened to jolt off the cart. He was stricken dead. Of course the ark was tabu. Uzzah's instinctive movement may have induced a sudden, split-second realization of his act. If Uzzah believed implicitly in the deadly tabu, and if fear and undue heart strain merged in one great psycho-physical convulsion, death might easily result.[25]

Any such visitation would be interpreted as direct act of Yahweh. Temporarily the ark was housed with a neighboring farmer Obed-Edom. His subsequent prosperity attracted notice, and David's next attempt was successful. The ark was joyously brought into Jerusalem. The king himself danced before it, to the disgust of Michal and their permanent estrangement.

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[23] Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan;* Olmstead, *op. cit.,* 318.

[24] Olmstead, *op. cit.,* 320.

[25] Just as striking cases have been observed among primitive people under domination of their witch doctors. There are points where mind seems to dominate bodily function completely. On the other hand, the ark, a box lined inside (?) and out with metal (gold), might be likened to a Leyden jar, familiar in every high-school laboratory. In the hot dry air of Palestine the metallic surfaces, separated by an insulating medium, might pick up a considerable electric charge. Uzzah's terror of breaking tabu may have been induced or supplemented by a decidedly noticeable electrical shock that paralyzed the heart muscles. Residents in cold regions have had this experience when grasping a metallic door knob. The writer has known static charges of quite uncomfortable intensity to leap from the door handle of an automobile that has been travelling across desert country in the super-heated dry air.

This whole story of the ark and Uzzah's death can not be dismissed as mere childish fairy tale. Back of a childlike tradition and simple language may lie a factual element. A scientific explanation may be possible but that does not destroy the original happening that started the tradition.

The Blood Curse.—David's exaltation was not unmixed with grief. A famine drove him to the oracle. Abiathar officiated at the omens and declared that there was blood on Saul's house; that Yahweh must be propitiated. One wonders whether Abiathar was actuated by political shrewdness and the desire to clear the stage for David, or whether he remembered his own grudge against Saul for killing most of his family. At any rate, seven of Saul's descendents were sacrificed, presumably to satisfy the Gibeonite clansmen. It is a pathetic picture that follows—Rizpah, concubine of Saul, the woman in the case when Abner quarreled with Ish-baal, and mother of two of the victims, sitting through the long days and nights chasing birds and beasts from the putrid bodies until the coming of rain indicates that the curse is lifted. David had the good grace to ease her mother heart by burying the bodies with Saul and Jonathan.

Ancient Brutality.—It was a roistering age at best. When Nahash of Ammon died, David sent messengers to bear sympathy to the son, Hanum. Hanum thought the messengers spies, and sent them home in disgrace with one side of their beards shaved off (an impossible situation for an adult Semite) and their long tunics cut off until they looked like a troop of little boys on the street. Then Hanum appealed to Aramean friends for aid. In the ensuing punitive expedition David was successful, but it shows the state of Hebrew culture that they took all the magnificent horses and hamstrung them, not knowing what to do with these northern creatures. Aramean alliances were made. Moab, which should have been recognized as a blood relation, was raided and her fighting men laid out on the ground, measured off with ropes, and two out of three slain. Rabbath Ammon held out, having a good spring and a secret reservoir and tunnel. It was to be the scene of one of David's blackest deeds.

The King's Cabinet.—By piecing together the biblical items and applying a few modern terms, a fairly clear picture of David's executive organization is obtained. A tabulation sheet would appear about as follows:

Joab	Chief of Staff
Jehoshaphat	Prime Minister
Beniah	Captain of the Guard
Elihu	Governor of Judah (David's brother)
Jasiel	Governor of Benjamin (Abner's son)
Omri	Governor of Issachar
Adoniram	Secretary of Public Works
Ezri	Secretary of Agriculture
Shimei	Secretary of Viticulture
Azmaweth	Tax Collector of Jerusalem district
Jonathan	Supervisor of Land Tax
Zabdi	Supervisor of Vineyard Tax
Joash	Supervisor of Oil Tax
Baalhanan	Olive and Sycamore Grove Inspector
Shitrai	Sheep Inspector, Sharon District
Shaphat	Sheep Inspector, valley districts
Obil	Caravan Inspector (an Ishmaelite)
Jehdeiah	Donkey Inspector
Seraiah or Shavshah	Court Recorder and Keeper of Archives

The sub-districts and towns were ruled by elders and the freemen were allotted taxes and military service, one month per year. A census, bitterly opposed as a lack of faith in Yahweh, was nevertheless carried through and the total tallies quite remarkably with the estimated population of Palestine, about 600,000.

WHAT CAME OUT OF IT ALL?

A Growing Literature.—The lusty enthusiasm of this newly born kingdom was certain to find literary expression. It may be that most of it flowered in the subsequent reign of Solomon, but there is no logical or psychological reason for denying poetic and literary power to these Hebrews. The persistent tradition of David's talent seems supported by the two famous dirges. The Bible mentions books such as *Jasher* and *Yahweh's Wars*. Parts of them may have been taking form before the kingdom, but now was the logical time for patriotic poets to sing the praises of David and Judah. From linguistic and other critical evidence it has been suggested that the old folk ballads, the blessing of Jacob, the Balaam oracles, were edited (some even think wholly originated) and supplemented so as to make complete poems purporting to record the glories of the Davidic-Judah dynasty in terms of oracular utterance centuries before. Certainly they contain elements wholly out of the knowledge of an earlier day and tribal data quite at variance with the exodus or wilderness picture.

The Woman Stealer.—A study of David would not be complete without taking into account the great drama, the theft of Bath-Sheba. Beginning in actual history it incorporates a marvelous plot structure, literary power, and climactic objective. It is tragedy presented as only a Hebrew mind could do it. The Hebrew never wrote drama as a literary unit, but a native sense of dramatic values enabled him to create magnificent dramatic narrative with a plot development that approached perfection.

Greek vs. Hebrew Tragedy.—The Greek tragedies were limited by faulty philosophical concepts. Though supposedly the acme of early drama, these works pivoted around the idea of fate. The tragedy lay in the workings of fate and the helplessness of man. Hebrew thinking was more scientific. The Hebrew mind, from the days of the *berîth* concept, related cause and effect. In a world of law and order, the creation of a covenant God, the issues of life were not the caprice of leering fate but the result of definite cause. Man's troubles were viewed as being largely of his own making. A blasé world may throw sin out of the vocabulary, but scientific observation vindicates Hebrew religion in correlating what man does with what happens to him.

An Ancient Scenario.—David's crime supplies situation, development, dénouement and ultimate results in striking continuity:

1. The incipient despotism of an oriental kingdom, so feared by Samuel, shows in the theory of absolute possession of subjects and property, including women, that prompts David to seize Uriah's wife (2 Sam. 11:2-4).
2. The old Hebraic democracy can not be defied. David has to create a legal fiction, either of Uriah's fatherhood, or Bath Sheba's widowhood (2 Sam. 11:6 ff).
3. Bath-Sheba a possible adventuress. She has married a Hittite. She has more intelligence than to be observable from the palace. Any effective protest against David's plans would have gained her honor. Her subsequent activities indicate a highly intelligent schemer.
4. In debauching Uriah and brazenly sending him to his doom with his own death warrant, David appears at his worst.
5. The death of Bath-Sheba's first child is recognized as a cause-effect phenomenon. While the child lives, David is suppliant. When it dies, like a weary reader closing the book he arises, cleans up, changes clothing, and calls for food. David's act is not heartless; it is grim recognition of the operation of the moral law. His sin has yielded the first result (2 Sam. 12:15-23).
6. The torture of the inhabitants of Rabbath-Ammon is oriental despotism. Joab finds the secret reservoir, and slyly suggests that David come and complete capture else he, Joab, may get the credit. Like any oriental despot David accepts the unearned honor (2 Sam. 12:26-31).
7. The crime against Tamar is the inevitable effect of harem life. David has the grace to repent; the sons copy his evils without his virtues (2 Sam. 13:1-22).
8. The murder of Amnon by Absalom is a logical effect of

David's policy. As he ruthlessly murders, so murder becomes his sons (2 Sam. 13:23-39).

9. Joab's attempt at reconciliation is in line with his policy to uphold the Davidic dynasty at all costs (2 Sam. 14:1-24).

10. Absalom's hypocritical offer to adjudicate grievances of citizens is an appeal to the old *šôphet* idea as against David's increasing *melek power* (2 Sam. 15:1-6).

11. David's apparently weak reaction to the rebellion and his flight is a further acknowledgment in his Hebrew mind of the law of cause and effect. He is reaping force, dishonor and blood just as he has sown (2 Sam. 15:14).

12. David's refusal to punish Shimei for cursing him is also a recognition of the fact that the cursing is the outcome of righteous indignation, a logical effect (2 Sam. 15:5-8).

13. The unreasoning request to spare Absalom's life is in line with other of David's acts, placing personal feelings first and being too lenient with his sons (2 Sam. 18:5).

14. Joab's disobedience and assassination of the fleeing Absalom is in character—anything to guarantee the Davidic dynasty (2 Sam. 18:14).

15. David's lamentation over Absalom ignores the duties of state. Joab's stern rebuke is typically Hebraic. The king is a servant of his people (2 Sam. 19:1-8).

16. David's pardoning of all offenders may be a combination of his growing weakness and a further recognition of the whole rebellion as a natural outcome of his own policies. There is also a bit of the old genius for building personal loyalty that marked his younger days. His restoration of lands to poor Mephibosheth is beautiful in its pathos (2 Sam. 19:16 ff).

17. The offer of quarters and a pension for the old desert sheik, Barzillai, if he will come to Jerusalem is set off by the subtle humor of the situation. Nothing can induce this desert dweller to go to the crowded city, but with true oriental politeness he claims that his age and dependence will be but a care to David. At the same time he secures the coveted honor for Chimham, either his son or at least a young member of the tribe, such a connection at court being a fine opportunity for a young man (2 Sam. 19:31 ff).

18. The quarrel between men of Judah and Israel as to the respective rights to restore the king threatens the peace of the united kingdom. Sheba's rebellion probably grows out of it and also provides Joab an excuse to throttle Amasa, who threatens to usurp his place[26] (2 Sam. 20).

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[26] The writer has preserved the drama in detail. Joab purposely girded his sword so that as he approached Amasa it fell out of the sheath. This held Amasa's attention

19. Adonijah's claim to the throne is probably valid. His setting up of a public acclaim is in line with Hebrew tradition. The people must confirm (1 Kg. 1:5-10).

20. Nathan supports Bath-Sheba in her plea for Solomon, not because he approves Bath-Sheba, but because the prophetic party can not approve Adonijah (1 Kg. 15:11-27).

21. Sending Solomon forth on the royal mule is a counter demonstration to secure popular acclaim for him. It succeeds. Adonijah flees. Solomon is king (1 Kg. 1:33, 49).

Thus Israel's third king was seated by popular acclaim, a strange mixture of despotic intrigue and the old primitive Hebrew democracy.

Who Was Solomon.—Just why the prophetic party would favor Solomon is somewhat of a mystery. His subsequent acts showed neither wisdom nor piety. Idolatrous and despotic, his reign must have been a continuous irritation to the prophets. Previous to the coronation, little is known of him. Is it possible that while the other sons were carousing, this son of Bath-Sheba actually did find pleasure in academic interest,—the turn of a proverb, the appreciation of a morsel of philosophy? Was his chief virtue the fact that he had kept out of trouble? Not all philosophers live wisely, nor do economists make fortunes. It would have been possible for the academic Solomon later to become a brilliant but unwise despot. The insistent tradition of his wisdom could be explained on this basis, without violating the historical evidence that his policies split the kingdom, weakened the Hebrew hold upon Palestine, laid foundations for civil war and foreign aggression, and led ultimately to the total break up of the Hebrew state (586 B.C.) and deportation of many of the people.

Keeping these many side lights in mind, the whole drama of David's double crime (adultery and murder) and its ultimate results may be thrown into a skeleton outline somewhat as follows:[27]

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and he never noticed the short dagger in Joab's hand. This outline and the brief continuity suggested on p. 158 is not intended to be a technical masterpiece of play writing or plot structure. Conversation could be built in and a complete amateur play developed. The outline simply suggests essential scenes and action.

[27] See note, p. 156, concerning purpose of such outline.

Inexorable cause and effect,—A beautiful woman,—A deteriorating king,—A growing despotism,—Revolt,—Weakness,—Doom,—Exile,—Until, "by the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept." It was a long cry from that fatal night when David first glimpsed Bath-Sheba, to the banks of a Babylonian canal, but history and literary art combine to produce this, the world's supreme problem drama.

HOW WISE WAS SOLOMON?

Solomon's Baalism.—The Solomonic reign has probably been over-rated. He began with ruthless murder for which he must be held responsible even though it was an outgrowth of David's example. Adonijah had dared aspire to the throne; he was removed. Old Joab, faithful through all and honestly championing Adonijah as David's rightful heir, was assassinated at the horns of the altar where he fled for sanctuary. Abiathar, counsellor in many a crisis, had also been with Adonijah. He was not killed, but was deposed and sent to Anathoth, where some suggest that he may have written up much of what now appears in the Bible about David and Solomon.[28] If so, he was the world's first historian. Other writers were but fragmentary analysts. Herodotus and Xenophon sketched episodes. Someone, Abiathar or not, for the first time saw history in perspective and gave a connected account of interrelated events.[29]

His International Policy.—It was David who built up the kingdom. Solomon ornamented it with multitudinous alliances sealed by marriage. His fear of the newly arisen Libyan king of Egypt, Shishak, who successfully seized the fortress of Gezer on the very edge of Solomon's territory, prompted immediate alliance. Solomon married an

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[28] Notably Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 336-337.

[29] The author has presented the Hebrew writers as the first real historians in his volume, *The Student Faces Life*, 125 ff.

Egyptian princess and received the partially burned city of Gezer as a gift. The rank of the new princess demanded special privilege, including a new palace. David did not know what to do with horses, but Solomon found them profitable. Recent excavations at Megiddo have uncovered elaborate stables of the Solomonic era.[30]

His Building Program.—David had dreamed of a genuine Hebrew temple. Phoenician connections were still happy. The story of Solomon's temple need not be told. Suffice it to say that it was made possible by Phoenician art, forced labor and burdensome taxation. The artisans were a month in service and two months at home. Since their labor was their chief wealth, it amounted to a 33 1/3% ad valorem tax upon a group least able to pay it. Upon his own private palace, called "Forest of Lebanon" because of the rows of cedar columns and the cedar interior, he expended more wealth and labor than upon Yahweh's temple. There is more spiritual value in analyzing Solomon's mistaken policies and grinding despotism than in gilding his reign. His very mistakes are a guide and a warning.

Solomon would probably be surprised today at the great emphasis placed upon his Jerusalem shrine. Later writers embellished the tradition until the temple building overshadowed all else. The most valuable item preserved in the mass of glorified tradition is the one poetic fragment of the dedication chorus:

> Yahweh hath placed the sun in heaven
> But He hath chosen in darkness to dwell;
> I have built Thee an house exalted
> The place of thine endless abode.

Yahweh in thick darkness! It is an echo of the old concept of Yahweh, God of darkness, storm and nature. Elaborate cast vessels had been prepared by Hiram, a Tyrian brass founder, down in the Jordan valley. The ark sat

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[30] Olmstead, *op. cit.* Frontispiece and 343 ff.

So-called Stables of Solomon, Jerusalem.
(*From a Photograph by* Bonfils.)
Supposed to be the foundations of the first temple.

beneath glorious winged figures. But the secret dwelling of Yahweh was in darkness, as of old. This ancient fragment is a commentary upon early ideas of Yahweh and one is thankful that it was preserved.

As shown by Dr. R. P. Dougherty of Yale, Solomon's taxation system had parallels in Babylon, where the tax districts were carefully worked out. The chief difficulty with Solomon's system was favoritism. Judah was exempt and the north bore the burden. Trouble was brewing.

THINKING IT OVER

1. What makes a person popular?
2. Does popularity ruin character?
3. What qualities are desirable in public officials?
4. Why do some deeply religious persons do evil?
5. Does each person have a right to live his own life?
6. Should religionists attempt to guide state policies?

a. Does popular vote indicate the best man?
b. Is despotism more efficient than democracy?
c. Is democracy the ideal?
d. If one regrets wrong doing are the effects cancelled?
e. Is it wrong to spend large sums on government or religious buildings?
f. Would sincere ethical religion solve most world problems or should religion be kept as a sacred idealism?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The rise of the prophetic party. (Atkins, PG, p. 477; Lods, I, pp. 444 ff.; McCown, GSG, p. 160; Reinach, O, p. 205; Encyclopedic sources under "Prophet" and "Seer.")
2. The function of the seer in ancient life. (Knudson, BLP, pp. 2, 12, 31; Lods I, pp. 442 ff.; Lowie, PR; McCown, GSG, pp. 160 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 180; Reinach, O, p. 205; Wild, EHP, index.)
3. Babylonian and Egyptian influences in Palestine about 1000 B.C. (Breasted, HE, pp. 371 ff.; Cambridge Anc. Hist.; Hall, AHNE; Macalister, CEP, see bibliog. on excavated sites; Olmstead, HPS; Peet, EOT; see bibliog. for *1* above and *a* below.)

a. New economic and social problems faced by the invading Hebrews. (Kent, STPJ; Lods, I, pp. 387 ff.; McCown, GSG; Olmstead, HPS; Wild, EHP.)
b. The Shephelah. (Barton, AB, pp. 96, 100, 202; Kent, BGH, index; McCown, GSG, p. 67; Smith, HGHL; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 234, 236.)
c. What was going on in the world of 1000 B.C. (Reinach, O; Rogers, HBA; Smith, EHA; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH; Histories of China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc.)

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4. Solomon's stables at Megiddo. (Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 254; Olmstead, HPS, p. 344; Fisher, EA.)
5. Arts and crafts in ancient Palestine. (Barton, AB, VII-IX.)
6. Late literary embellishments of the Solomon tradition. (Driver, ILOT, pp. 191-193; Fowler, HLI; Kent, IHBN, pp. 167 ff.)

d. The excavation of Megiddo. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB; Fisher, EA; Guy, NLA; Bull. ASOR, No. 45.)

e. Wise sayings of the ancients. (Barton, AB, XXIV; Brown, WE; Gunn, IP; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 175 ff.; Sacred Books of the East, vols. on Egypt, Babylon and Hebrew.)

f. Popular religious ideas in the United Kingdom period. (Badè, OTLT; Fowler, OGRE; Lods, I; Smith, RI.)

CHAPTER V

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Read the biblical material in three sections as follows: 1 Kgs. 12-16; 1 Kgs. 17—2 Kgs. 9; 2 Kgs. 10-14; compare parallels in 2 Chron. 12-23.
2. As each section is read make a chronological chart or outline of the kings of Israel and Judah. (Consult Kent, KPIJ or IHBN, p. 200.)
3. Outline the significant events of each reign, briefly, so that the eye can catch the continuity and perspective of events.
4. Study geographical references for topography and for archaeological data. (See Albright, APB; Barton, AB, XIX; Kent, BGH; Macalister, CEP; Smith, HGHL.)

a. Write down in two columns: (a) Causes that brought about the United Kingdom. (b) Causes for the division of the kingdom. Differentiate the immediate from the remote; also the geographical, social and economic causes. (Kent, STPJ, II; Lods, I, pp. 371-374, 351 ff., 415; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XII, and p. 265; Olmstead, HPS, p. 350; Petrie, EI, pp. 70 ff.)

b. Study the nature and contents of the books of Kings. (Bewer, LOT, IV; Dinsmore, EBL, VIII; Driver, ILOT, pp. 185 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT, IV; Kent, GCOT, pp. 64 ff.; Smith, OTH, p. 182.)

c. Read up on contemporary Egyptian history and Shishak's invasion. (Albright, APB, index; Bailey and Kent, HHC; Barton, AB, XIX, HHP; Breasted, HE; Budge, HEP; Olmstead, HPS, XXIII; Petrie, EI, p. 72; Con. Bib. Enc., index.)

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5. Outline the Elijah and Elisha story cycles and note overlapping. (Church, IS, pp. 274-279; Driver, ILOT, pp. 194-196; Kent, GCOT, pp. 66-67; IHBN, pp. 18-20, p. 227, n. 80; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I; Wild, LGB, pp. 247-250.)
6. Note the growth and activity of the prophetic movement; write down names of prophets mentioned.

d. Review details of Canaanite cults and primitive Yahwehism and note the points at which conflict was sure to occur. (Lods, I, pp. 83 ff., 258 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I; Wood, in JBL, XXXV, XLVI.)

e. Study the background of Phoenician history for this period. (Hall, AHNE, index; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 367 ff. and index.)

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7. Give careful attention to the Jehu revolution, its causes, effects and character. (Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, VII.)
8. Study the Moabite stone; its findings; its contribution to historical knowledge. (Barton, AB, pp. 421-423; Cooke, NSI, pp. 4-14; Olmstead, HPS, p. 369; Con. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps; Encyclopedic sources, indexes.)
f. Review archaeological data on Mizpah, and study particularly the excavations at Samaria. (Badè, ETN; Jack, SAT; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 297 ff.; Pinches, BSMG; Reisner, Fisher, Lyon, HES.)
g. Read up on contemporary Assyrian history, especially Ashurnazirpal and Shalmaneser. (Barton, AB, XIX; Olmstead, HA; HPS, pp. 375-377; Rogers, CPOT; HBA.)

The Divided Kingdom

WHO WROTE ABOUT IT?

A Golden Age of Literature.—Great reigns are often conducive to literary outburst. The Golden Age of Hebrew life would naturally be accompanied by such activity. Alphabets and writing were well established by Solomon's time. The great Hebrew prose and poetry did not "just happen" nor all take form in late centuries. Back of the present Bible lies many a lost but contemporary fragment. No one can positively say that just this or that was written down in the Solomonic or following era, but the mention of the book of *Jasher*, *Yahweh's Wars*, *The Acts of Solomon,* the book of *Nathan*, the book of *Ahijah*, and the *Chronicles of the Kings,* leads one to conclude that court records, temple annals, and special compositions were being produced.

Kings and Chronicles.—The present books of Kings and Chronicles may not have reached their final form until the fifth century B.C. or later. They record events down to a late period, drawing from older sources for data. The final writer or editor represents the highest point reached by any ancient historian. Whatever is conjectured about Abiathar as an historian, his work would be an hypothetical chunk of material embedded in the historical books.

But the books of Kings are a complete work placed in our hands. Date and editorship may be debated, but the contents are fixed.

This historian, or school of historians, produced our first extant national history, including a wide sweep of events (as contrasted with the Greek writers) set in order according to a definite scheme or philosophy of history. The theory was a rigid application of the cause-effect principle. The fortunes of king and people are related directly to their attitude toward Yahweh. Righteousness yields welfare; sin brings trouble. Every king of Judah, except Hezekiah and Josiah is criticized for idolatry, and the northern kings are especially condemned. The writer uses a stereotyped framework, giving the name, age of accession, length of reign, and moral pedigree. In many cases he coordinates northern and southern contemporaries. Details follow, closing with record of death and place of burial.

A Worthy Work.—Considering the limitations of such a mechanical framework, the lack of training in scientific historical research, the probable chaos of sources, and the difficulty of telling two stories at once (i.e. history of Israel and history of Judah), the editors of the books of Kings did a great piece of work. Years later, another writer or school of writers retold the history with an ecclesiastical slant, giving us the books of Chronicles. These should not be confused with the *Chronicles of the Kings* mentioned in the Bible. The Chronicler was more interested in priestly descent than in an ethical hypothesis, though he did assume that the Hebrew nation and its great men were holy and indispensable to God. It was a very smug nationalism.

WHAT DIVIDED IT?

Impetuous Youth.—Upon Solomon's death his son, product of the harem and the oriental indulgence of the court, another effect of previous causes, defied the citizens at the Shechem mass meeting. Though proud of the glories of the kingdom, the gruelling tax was too much. Rehoboam's counsel with the old men touched those who still recalled the days of Hebraic democracy. They urged attention to popular wish. Counsel with the young men touched those of his own age and generation. They knew nothing but the rising tide of baalism. They knew but one way to handle subjects. "My little finger shall be heavier than my father's thigh" was the edict of Rehoboam, still king of united Israel.

A Labor Leader.—Jeroboam, a returned exile from Egypt whence he had fled after questioning Solomon's labor policy, was at Shechem. He was a likely champion. The north was disgruntled. The time was ripe. The kingdom split.

First Results.—The loyalty of the two southern tribes to Rehoboam was logical. The Davidic dynast was their special possession. It was all in the family. Geographically the two regions were separated. The south was less fertile, isolated, sufficiently highland to retain tenaciously its nomadic aspect, including tribal consciousness. The north had seven times the area; was fertile; it tapped trade routes which poured wealth into its coffers. Israel naturally tended to agriculture and trade. Touching many peoples and open to foreign influence, in the north there grew a cosmopolitan spirit and a sophistication combined with an actual cultural advance that could spell destiny or ruin.

Rehoboam throwing discretion to the winds sent Adoniram, his hard and hated tax collector, to assert authority among the northern tribes. They stoned him to death! Rehoboam withdrawing to Jerusalem would have started a civil war (which was to come later anyhow), but was prevented by Shemaiah or the prophetic party. At that moment civil war would have been suicide. The powerful northern tribes would have throttled Judah.

Shishak Taking Jews into Captivity.
From a Wall of Karnak (Lepsius).
Shishak holds in his hands strings, leading various captives supposed to have been taken in his invasion of Judah. (2 Chr. 12. 2–9.)

The Shadow of Egypt.—Rehoboam's act had international complications. Solomon had been married to an Egyptian princess. Had her son seized the throne, Egypt would have had automatic control over southern Palestine without a struggle. Rehoboam, son of an Ammonite mother, irritated the new Libyan pharaoh, Sheshonk. His great invasion of Palestine (930 B.C.) is witnessed by an old lost Hebrew record used by the Chronicler, by his own monument set up at Megiddo, and by the hieroglyphs carved on the walls of the temple at Karnak.[1] Rehoboam paid heavily; the gorgeous shields of gold that adorned the temple went to Egypt. Worshippers had to be content with the glint of burnished brass.

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[1] See Fisher, *Excavation of Armageddon;* Breasted, *History of Egypt.* Shishak gives a list of captured Palestinian centers which, combined with the Chronicler's record

North vs. South.—Jeroboam did not escape, even though married to an Egyptian wife. Now he was compelled to withdraw east of Jordan, and establish headquarters at Penuel. With the withdrawal of Sheshonk, Hebrew attention could be given to constructive and destructive measures, building cities and fighting between themselves. Jeroboam was statesman enough to see the necessity of breaking up the influence of the Jerusalem temple. Shiloh was claimed by the south, but an ancient Canaanite shrine, the temple of Baal-Berith, Lord of the Covenant, was available. Excavation reveals traces of this Hebrew project on top of earlier remains. Another shrine, Bethel, was traditionally associated with Jacob and early Hebrew history. Far in the north the old Danite shrine had a venerable antiquity to recommend it. With Jeroboam's Egyptian background it is small wonder that he set up two images, something that untheological commoners could *see*, in the form of bull images. Apis and Hathor worship was popular in Egypt. This cult had cropped up in the exodus period in the Golden Calf episode. Biblical writers pour pious scorn upon Jeroboam and his shrines, but probably Jeroboam never thought of infidelity to Yahweh. The images were visible Egyptianesque symbols of a faith.

In the south, Rehoboam rebuilt the towns that Sheshonk had captured. His successor, Abijah, grandson of Absalom, during a short reign called upon Aramea to worry Jeroboam. This alliance was the beginning of a long series of international intrigues that set the stage for ultimate destruction of the state. Asa who followed had a long reign of forty-one years, marked by religious activity and

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(2 Chron. 11:5-12), enables one to follow the line of march and estimate the extent of the raid. A check on the place names shows how remarkably well ancient traditions and records managed to preserve basic facts.

reform, but marred by the foolish policy of continuing the quarrel with Israel.

Anarchy.—The subsequent history can best be followed by tracing northern events. The real current of history was in Israel until 722 B.C. The initial period was one of anarchy, a rapid succession of military dynasties. The names of the early Israelite kings are usually ignored, and the record seems to be dry reading. An easy way to remember the series is by a bizarre mnemonic key, *J. N. Bezoa,* which recalls the period of turmoil during the reigns of *J*-eroboam, *N*-adab, *B*-aasha, *E*-lah, *Z*-imri, *O*-mri, *A*-hab.

WHAT WENT ON IN THE NORTH?

Changing Dynasties.—In the north Nadab followed Jeroboam. Gibbethon, a Philistine outpost in the plain of Sharon, offered opportunity for the new king to show off his military ability. A siege that lasted on and off for twenty-five years began. But the forces set in motion by David and Solomon's despotism were unleashed. Within two years Baasha, whose tribe had suffered severely at Sheshonk's hands, carried through a conspiracy, assassinating Nadab at Gibbethon. True to the baalistic principles, he removed possible contestants for the throne by murdering Jeroboam's relatives. It was a new dynasty.

For twenty-four years the usurper managed to hold on. Archaeology has made this period live again. Ramah, only five miles from Jerusalem, was seized and fortified, an insulting threat to the capital of the south. Asa in desperation stripped the temple (a queer act for a religious reformer) and hurried tribute to Ben-hadad of Aramea to induce him to break his treaty with Baasha and draw his attention northward. The intrigue worked, and Baasha withdrew from Ramah (1 Kg. 15:16-22).

Untutored Assistants.—At Mizpah, where the Pacific School of Religion has been finding new stories and old in stones and débris,[2] the Bible record can be traced. Asa levied a laboring crew, dismantled Ramah, and carried the timbers and stones to Mizpah, seven miles from Jerusalem. It was an old site, inhabited from prehistoric times. Asa's workmen cleaned the town, and dumped the débris outside the wall. This put the latest potsherds and other relics at the bottom of the pile, as they naturally lying on top of the site would be dumped out first. Likewise, when they got through, the oldest city offal would be on top of the dump heap. In other words, the dump pile built up by Asa's men contained years of relics of occupation in reverse order, enabling the archaeologist to tally his record of successive periods in Mizpah history. Reversing either series would give the order of the other. Little did the ancient workmen realize that they were creating a valuable tool for the modern scientist in reconstructing biblical history.

Inscription of Shishak and of Abibaal, King of Gebal.

Neither did some obscure peasant realize that he was creating a treasure when he scratched on a stone a calendar of months as they pertained to his farming.[3] The Gezer stone is our earliest known Hebrew writing.[4]

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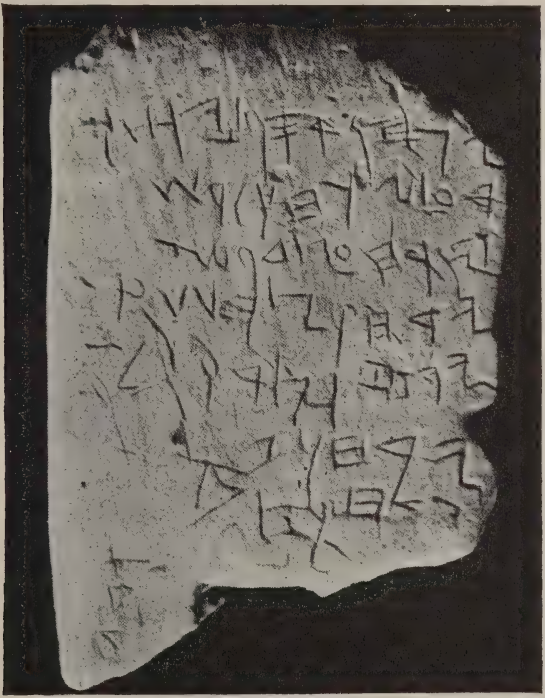
[2] See Badè, *Excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh;* also Bulletins of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1926 *et passim.*



Earliest example of Hebrew writing. The Gezer Calendar.

Since Baasha was still busy, Asa was able to add Gibeah to Mizpah as a fortified post. Gibeah had lain two hundred years unoccupied. Even now, pottery fragments and construction indicate that its culture was not high. It was more of a garrison town.

Grim Humor.—When Elah, Baasha's son, succeeded to the throne it looked as though the new dynasty might become established. Within two years, however, Zimri, a charioteer (and a sixth generation descendent from Saul) struck for the throne. As Elah was holding a drunken carousal with his royal chamberlain, Zimri sneaked in and stabbed him. Had he succeeded in holding the kingship, the old Benjaminite dynasty of Saul would have been restored, but reading between the lines, one surmises that he was somewhat of a weakling. The Gibbethon army would not accept him. Quickly marching to Tirzah, under the command of General Omri, they cornered Zimri in the citadel which he promptly set afire. He had lasted just seven days!

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[3] Some might object to the thought that a humble worker could write. In Babylonia, the complicated cuneiform prevented popular education. The prevalence of rock scribblings throughout the gorges and camp sites of Palestine and Sinai indicates that the Semitic alphabet was widely known and used by other than professional scribes. Lods, *op. cit.*, 74; Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 91 ff.

[4] Macalister, *Gezer; A Century of Excavation in Palestine,* 249 ff.

One of the best flashes of humor in the Bible appears in connection with Omri's accession. Biblical humor is subtle, involving word play and the turn of a phrase. It is the kind that "never cracks a smile." The biblical writer naïvely remarks:

> Then were the people divided.
> Half followed Tibni to make him king,
> And half followed Omri.
> But the people with Omri were stronger
> Than the people with Tibni,
> *So Tibni died!*

A New Statesman.—Omri gets little notice from the biblical writer, and less from the modern reader, yet it was this man who stopped anarchy and the fruitless struggles for the throne. While Assyrian records have added much to the meager biblical story, yet so much is omitted that it is necessary to read between the lines. Certain it is that Omri made such an imprint upon his world that in far off Assyria Palestine was designated as the *mât Ḫumri* or country of Omri, and the brutal Jehu was later spoken of as *mâr Ḫumri*, or son of Omri.[5]

His international policy is clearly shown through the marriage of a Phoenician princess, Jezebel, to his son,

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[5] On the Shalmanezer obelisk and these idioms see Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* 304, n. 2, 305; Nelson's *Condensed Biblical Encyclopedia,* 74.

Ahab. A further side light is obtained from reading 1 Kings 20:34. This later treaty between Ahab and Ben-Hadad is a reversal of a previous treaty (unrecorded) between Omri and Hazael. Evidently the first treaty ceded east Jordan territory to Aramea and allowed Damascene merchants commercial concessions in the Israelite capital. This was an inevitable outgrowth of the civil wars during which both Israel and Judah became entangled with Aramean obligations. Aram was not slow to exploit Hebrew weakness. Omri could not whip Aramea, but when he ceded the east Jordan territory he gave up a region that was geographically separated from Israel, hard to administer, and more of a liability than an asset. The permit for Aramean merchants to have exclusive use of favored bazaars in Samaria was a harder condition, but at least Omri was statesman enough to make terms with Aram which permitted Israel to work out a home policy.

Above all, with a clever appreciation of the need for a strong and neutral capital (compare David's capture of Jerusalem) Omri purchased a tract of land and established Samaria. His choice must have been wise. Samaria withstood three years' battering at the hands of Assyria. The excavator can read Samaria's history, layer by layer, from late Roman times. At the bottom of the mound he finds the remnants of Omri's palace, resting upon bed rock. No city was there before Omri's time, so the biblical record is evidently reliable.[6]

Assyrian notations and archaeological data are further supplemented by a noted fragment of inscription found in Moab, the Moabite stone.[7] Though set up later, it referred back to the days when Omri raided Moab and held it. Omri could not fight Aramea, but he could stop a lot of border raiding and petty lawlessness. All in all, Omri was a greater man than his biographer admitted; too many people, diverse in interests and separated from each other,

[6] Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria;* Jacks, *Samaria in Ahab's Time;* Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine.*

[7] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions;* Nelson's *Condensed Biblical Encyclopedia,* 75.

took note of him. Omri laid the foundations for an Israelitish kingdom that was to last for a century and a half.

WAS JEZEBEL SINCERE?

A Determined Woman.—What Omri started Ahab brought to fruition. His real greatness is dwarfed by comparison with two towering figures, Jezebel and Elijah. They are embodiments of the old problem of what might happen if an irresistible force met an immovable body. Jezebel's enthusiasm and Elijah's rugged determination clashed, and so struck the sparks of a new religious development in Israel.

Jezebel was the daughter of Eth-baal (Itto-baal), an ex-priest of baal who had seized the throne through murder and intrigue. She breathed the atmosphere of baalistic despotism and ruthlessness. There is every indication that her early religious environment had engendered a genuine enthusiasm for the baal cults and all that they implied. This Phoenician princess, to seal an alliance, was married into the family of a back-country petty king of an infant state many of whose subjects were still in the nomad stage. Tyre was an important commercial city, sophisticated, filled with the art and treasure of the world; Samaria at best was a peasant realm with the rudiments of trade and international relationships developing.

Jezebel became the world's first great foreign missionary, attempting to re-mold a whole people to a new religion and culture. Although one may not agree with her theology, one must admire her intelligence and singleness of purpose. The Elijah-Jezebel history is the finest display of the life and death struggle that had been going on between primitive Hebraic Yahwehism with its desert democracy and Palestinian baalism with its despotism. Baalism raised up clever sooth-sayers but only Yahwehism developed the world's most unique school of thinkers, the Hebrew prophets.

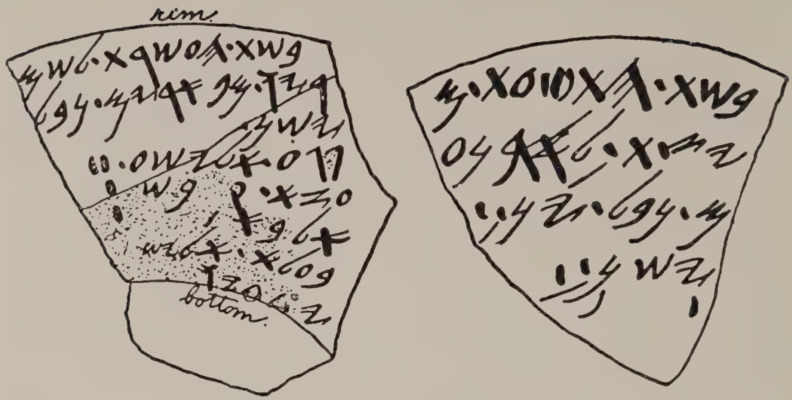
Phoenician Luxury.—Jezebel naturally had no hesitancy in seeking to be kept in her accustomed luxury. The famous Ivory Palace which indulgent Ahab built for her is still traceable at Samaria, the white stones suggesting the origin of its romantic name. There may also have been a coating of stucco or a wash that further brightened its gleam in the brilliant Palestinian sun. Jezebel could walk along a great colonnade or beside a pool (37 feet x 17 feet) whence water was conducted to the bath. This pool was cemented with a combination of cement and wood ashes that became harder than the rock. It has even been suggested that this may have been the actual pool in which years later the dead Ahab's chariot was washed after the fatal wound at Ramoth Gilead.

A Hall of Records.—One of the most thrilling finds at Samaria was made in a suite of eighteen rooms at the southwest corner of the palace area. In these rooms, built of broken and apparently discarded materials, were found administrative archives dealing with the collection of taxes. The records were jotted down on ostraka, broken bits of pottery, which were considered a perfectly respectable form of stationery in the ancient world. Oil and wine, the chief items, were gathered by the royal stewards in the various towns, delivered to the palace, and recorded.[8] The script upon these ostraka is that which adorned the parchment pages of whatever sections of the Bible were written at that time.[9]

In this palace area was also found a large two-handled jar from Egypt, inscribed with the name of Osorkon II (874-853 B.C.) and originally filled with some valuable ointment which was probably a present to Ahab from

[8] These records have been invaluable in giving the Hebrew names for some of the modern villages and assisting in completing the map of ancient Palestine. See Jacks, *op. cit.*

[9] Probably some day in course of excavation an ostrakon with some original phrase of the Bible will be found. That will be one of the greatest days in the history of biblical scholarship.



Business Records of Ahab's Time.
Samaritan ostraka. Inscribed potsherds, representing the flowing cursive of every-day life as opposed to the formal characters used on inscriptions.

Egypt when Osorkon was stirring Palestine against Assyria to serve his own interests. To understand Ahab, the prophets, and subsequent Hebrew history, one must remember that the story of Assyria is a story of westward expansion. For centuries Assyria had striven to reach the Mediterranean to tap the wealth of Palestine and Egypt. The tide of conquest rose and fell, but ever the wave of Assyrian advance beat upon the West. Shalmaneser II not only took booty, but levied a regular tribute. Ben-Hadad of Aramea was in direct line of march; the whole West was fearful. The shadow of Assyria was the signal for alliance, plot and counterplot, involving every political unit of the West and Egypt.

Politics.—The long civil war between Israel and Judah ceased. Upon the death of Asa in the south, Jehoshaphat faced a Moabite raid. The enemy skirted south of the Dead Sea but was ambushed by bandit tribesmen in the rocky pass above Engedi, much to the benefit of Jehoshaphat. A marriage between his son, Jehoram, and Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel, healed the breach between north and south, but the Jezebel blood and vices were thus imported into Judah to make future trouble.

On the eastern frontier, down in the Jordan valley, old Jericho was rehabilitated. Despite the ancient curse upon the site, archaeology reveals that it was occupied. The biblical record, however, states that a new significance was given to this outpost by Hiel who rebuilt the walls "in the death of his first born." It is possible that this records one of those reversions to the horrible cult practice of making foundation sacrifices and burning, burying, or walling up a victim to assure divine protection.[10] Such a thing would be an added blot upon the accursed site so maligned by Hebrew writers.

The old Aramean problem continued to plague Ahab, for Ben-Hadad II moved against Samaria. It may be that in fright and desperation he took this means to force Ahab into the general Palestinian alliance against Shalmaneser II,[11] although the Osorkon vase[12] indicates that Egypt also was diplomatically urging Ahab. When Ben-Hadad picked a quarrel, Ahab consented to his first disgraceful terms, only to receive a second and worse demand. Ahab's answer is another example of grim but subtle Hebraic humor: "Let a champion talk after he gets home, not before!"

The Yahweh Party.—At this point the prophetic party took a definite hand in the Aramean situation. One of the guild advised Ahab to make a feint attack with a handful of men. The Arameans fell into the trap; two hundred and thirty Israelites were child's play. Ben-Hadad was getting drunk in the staff pavilions when seven thousand Israelites dropped upon his army, and he had to disgrace himself by fleeing on horseback.

The religious ideas of the time are shown in the Aramean reaction to this unexpected defeat. "Their gods are hill gods; let us fight against them in the plain." So the next battle was joined at Aphek. Since one of the prophetic guild had already announced that Yahweh was not limited to the hills, the victory was a vindication of his claim, becoming a further factor in building up in the mind of the common Hebrew the idea of a universal God who was not confined to a single nation, a country, or a shrine.

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[10] At Gezer jar burials were found under the walls; at Megiddo a jar between the first and second layer of stones and a girl's skeleton lay over the foundation of a third. Burying victims alive was to assure good fortune. Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, 1925, 83; *The Clarendon Bible*, ii, 218 and note; Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 432 ff.

[11] In the time of Isaiah, about 734 B.C., this was done.

[12] See Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 384. Such gifts are a fairly reliable evidence of diplomatic relations and the finding of such an object writes a page of history.

Ben-Hadad's counsellors were now keen enough to see that Ahab's friendship was more valuable than his hate. An embassy hastened to Ahab who seemed surprised that the Aramean king was alive. "Is he alive? He is my ally." The ambassadors played up the idea, and the famous treaty was the result. Omri had bartered Transjordania and choice concessions in Samaria. Ahab got Transjordania back, and squeezed bazaar concessions out of Ben-Hadad in the finest commercial center of the Near East, Damascus. It was a good day's work.

To the prophetic guild who hoped to see Aramea permanently throttled, the treaty was absolutely contrary to their policy. With the characteristic dramatic instinct of the prophets, one of their number awaited Ahab with self-inflicted wounds telling a story of letting a captive escape. The prophet, immediately using Ahab's condemnation of him as his own text, scathingly denounced the treaty and intrigue with Aramea.

WERE ELIJAH AND ELISHA WRONG?

The Rugged Tishbite.—The great drama of Ahab's reign lies in the Elijah-Elisha stories. Around famous persons, or places, or events, masses of tradition gather; it was so with these two prophets. There were evidently cycles of Elijah stories, cycles of Elisha stories; cycles popular at Gilgal, others at Samaria. The Elijah of Gilgal and the countryside is a fiery desert prophet, close to the people; the Elijah of Samaria is a man who has his own personal servant, gives orders, and is quite at home in the city and royal court. Part of the Elisha cycle is filled with valuable historical material. Interpolated are numerous popular miracle stories, the perpetual delight of the orient. Some may arise out of simple happenings embellished; others may indicate more the affection of simple folk eulogizing their beloved prophet.

The story of Elijah begins with an incident historically traceable. He announces a famine that will effectively blast any self-confidence Israel might have. An ancient writer, Menander, likewise left a record of a three-year famine in the time of Itto-baal, between 874 B.C. and 867 B.C.[13] This Elijah is from Tishbeh in Gilead, on the desert border. He is an intense Yahwehist, holding to the old desert ideals, diametrically opposed to the baalism of Jezebel. Herein is his importance. Israelite religion, fraught with noble possibilities but still primitive and mixed with Palestinian agricultural cults, needed the sane fanaticism of men like Elijah and Elisha to force the issue and to turn the course of development toward the upper trails.

Baiting Baal.—Like a meteor Elijah first sweeps into the Bible reader's sky, with announcement of the drought, a message entirely unappreciated by Ahab; as suddenly, he disappears into the Jordan wilds like the characteristic oriental holy man. At Cherith he is fed by *'ôrebhîm,* translated "ravens" and so usually pictured, though the word might also be translated "Arabs," with a suggestion of desert hospitality extended to this wandering prophet by local tribesmen.[14] After the brook dries up, Elijah is found at Zarephath, near Tyre, in the heart of the baal country. Far more important than explaining the miracle of the never-failing meal and oil in the poor widow's storehouse is this flashlight picture of the doughty champion of Yahweh sizing up the situation in the enemy's territory.

The contest on Mt. Carmel brings Jezebel and Elijah to grips. High on a ridge, 1600 feet above the sea, long sacred to Phoenicians and still sacred in Roman days when

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[13] See Josephus, Ant. VIII, 324.

[14] The Septuagint renders *'ôrebhîm* by *tois koraxin,* indicating that the Jews of the third century B.C. accepted the idea of ravens rather than Arab tribesmen.

Vespasian worshipped at the altar fringed by a mass of thickets, the court-supported baal priests dress their altar and pray the ritual prayers, but little different from innumerable specimens used from Egypt to Babylon. "How long will you people dance to two gods?" is Elijah's ringing challenge.[15] Pouring out his biting sarcasm upon the puffing baal priests Elijah bides his time until late in the day it is his turn to vindicate Yahweh.

Little is to be gained by trying to explain the sudden manifestation of Yahweh.[16] Baal was disgraced. The mob cried for blood.

The Wrong Method.—A stern Elijah and a stern religion condoned the massacre of the priests. Theoretically this surgical operation should have cut out baalism from the body politic, but force and blood never settle issues. Human problems are of the mind, and by the mind they must be met. From the early days, through the reign of David and through the period of anarchy, bloodshed had prevailed. Elijah, man of God and leader of the prophetic school, accepted the time-honored method. It failed. Jezebel was furious. Baalism was not dead. Elijah had to flee far to the south, to the old Mt. Horeb country where centuries before Moses had faced crushing problems and despair.

It was not in Elijah's nature to tread softly. In the wind, earthquake, and storm, the cowering Elijah found no new ideas. In the silence that followed, a voice seemed to enlighten him.[17] Yahwehism was not dead either. A new voice must be raised, one of greater gentleness. New methods must be tried, the interpretation and use of existing conditions. It was like putting the religionist into a great laboratory wherein he found at hand social, economic, and political, i.e. *human,* materials from which he must compound his message and his mission. The prophetic party was to enter politics; Elisha was to take up Elijah's work.

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[15] English translation "halt" would be better rendered "limp," a sarcastic reference to the ritual dance steps as the priests or people made magic about a heathen altar. There is also the idea of jumping, and Elijah may be referring to some of the pagan "threshold rites" or leaping the threshold. Next to the corner-stone, the threshold was the most sacred part of the wall, and often foundation sacrifices would be buried there. Later on, the Hebrews substituted lamps or bowls for the ancient human offerings. Note excavations at Gezer and Megiddo.

[16] Liquid from a pool that exuded petroleum might blaze up if fired by lightning, but one must then assume very advanced knowledge on Elijah's part, or a very fortuitous combination of ignorance and meteorological phenomena.

[17] The Hebrew says literally, "a sound of gentle stillness," a rather striking idiom portraying the intense sense of silence that followed the storm.

Yahweh vs. Baal.—The story of Naboth's vineyard is another illustration of the basic struggle between the two ideas in Palestine. Ahab's desire for a garden is quite like that of Merodach Baladin of Babylon or Sargon II of Assyria who almost became the world's first botanist, with confiscated land as the botanical garden. The desire was normal, but the method was illegal. Naboth was not churlish in refusing to sell; he was just a Hebrew of the old school who realized that private property has no vested rights that run counter to social welfare. A Hebrew landowner held it in trust; from his fathers he received it; to his descendants it must go. No good Hebrew could squander the patrimony and thus cheat posterity.

Jezebel "could not appreciate the tenacity of the free peasant. She had spent her early years in a mercantile community where everything was bought and sold, where constant seafaring had killed devotion to any one spot of land. Accustomed to the merchant's trickery, she thought it nothing to dispatch orders under royal seal . . ."[18] which orders enmeshed Naboth, convicted him unjustly, secured his death, and confiscated his property for the crown. Ahab would have bought the land contrary to Hebrew law, covering it with a cash payment; Jezebel seized it contrary to Hebrew law, covering it with a trumped up legal fiction of Naboth's guilt. Ahab was contaminated by baalistic ideas; Jezebel was restrained by the hated Yahwehistic democracy. The invincible Jezebel had met a power greater than anything else in the world—a religion that cared.

Elijah's dramatic denunciation of this crime was a burning indictment of baalism and a ringing announcement of the basic Yahwehistic concept of the cause-effect relations. As Ahab and Jezebel had done, so would it be done to them. They had shed blood, and shown no mercy; without mercy their blood would some day flow.

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[18] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 382.

DID ELIJAH WORK ALONE?

Professional Prophetism.—Though Ahab and Aramea had probably joined because of the Assyrian threat, the commercial tension was too great for these two centers, Samaria and Damascus, to remain friendly. It is impossible to work out an exact chronology of the Aramean wars but it is probable that Ben-Hadad did not live up to the terms of the treaty. Ahab proposed to reclaim the Israelite town of Ramoth-Gilead, allying with Jehoshaphat of Judah to do so. The project brought into prominence Micaiah, a member of the prophetic guild, *persona non grata* with the official court prophets.

Prophetism in Israel was to reach its fruition in the great ethical prophets of the eighth century. In earlier days it was still possible for portions of the guild to be Yahwehists, officially supported by the crown, with judgment warped in consequence. Jehoshaphat hesitated to join battle without prophetic sanction, which the official group was prompt to give. Evidently Micaiah already had some reputation, for Jehoshaphat asked for him, to the disgust of Ahab who surmised the kind of negative criticism Micaiah would give. Evidently the leaven of the future prophetic antagonism to intrigue and militarism was at work in this lone scion of the prophetic guild.

Micaiah's sarcastic encouragement to embark on the project is not lost on Ahab who demands the truth. When Micaiah warns of impending disaster, Zedekiah, leader of the court guild, plants a resounding slap on Micaiah's cheek, which the king follows up by an order to have Micaiah jailed.

Death of Ahab.—In the day of battle, Jehoshaphat foolishly wore Ahab's clothing; Ahab was disguised as a soldier or charioteer. The Arameans spotting him, soon discovered the deception. The Bible has preserved in simple language of great power the turn of events that made history. An Aramean archer nonchalantly drew his bow for one more shot. The arrow point penetrated Ahab's armor at the shoulder. One must admire him riding, propped up in his chariot while slowly bleeding to death. At famed Megiddo he died, and was mournfully borne to Samaria. A late biblical writer added that the dogs licked the blood from his chariot as it was washed in the pool,[19] overlooking the fact that a literal fulfillment of Elijah's prophecy would demand that this take place in Naboth's vineyard in Jezreel instead of the palace court at Samaria.

The religio-political struggle still raged. Ahaziah, son of Ahab, seriously injured in his second year of reign, sought magic and help from a Canaanite baal, Baal-Zebub, literally "The Lord of Flies," though nobody knows how a community chose such a deity. Later we find Elijah at Ahaziah's bedside, but giving little comfort to the ailing king.

Elisha Carries On.—The Elijah and Elisha cycles of stories overlap and the incessant wars with Aramea run through as a continuous accompaniment. Elijah's attempt to extirpate baalism had not succeeded, and upon Elisha fell the mantle of responsibility. In the beautiful narrative of Elijah's final end, Elisha is pictured as pleading for the double portion of Elijah's prophetic spirit. In Semitic terms it means that he was asking the inheritance of an eldest son, making him the heir to the great prophetic mission.

The Moabite Revolt.—No sooner had Elisha assumed his leadership of the prophetic party than the Moabite crisis arose. Mesha of Moab had decided to throw off the

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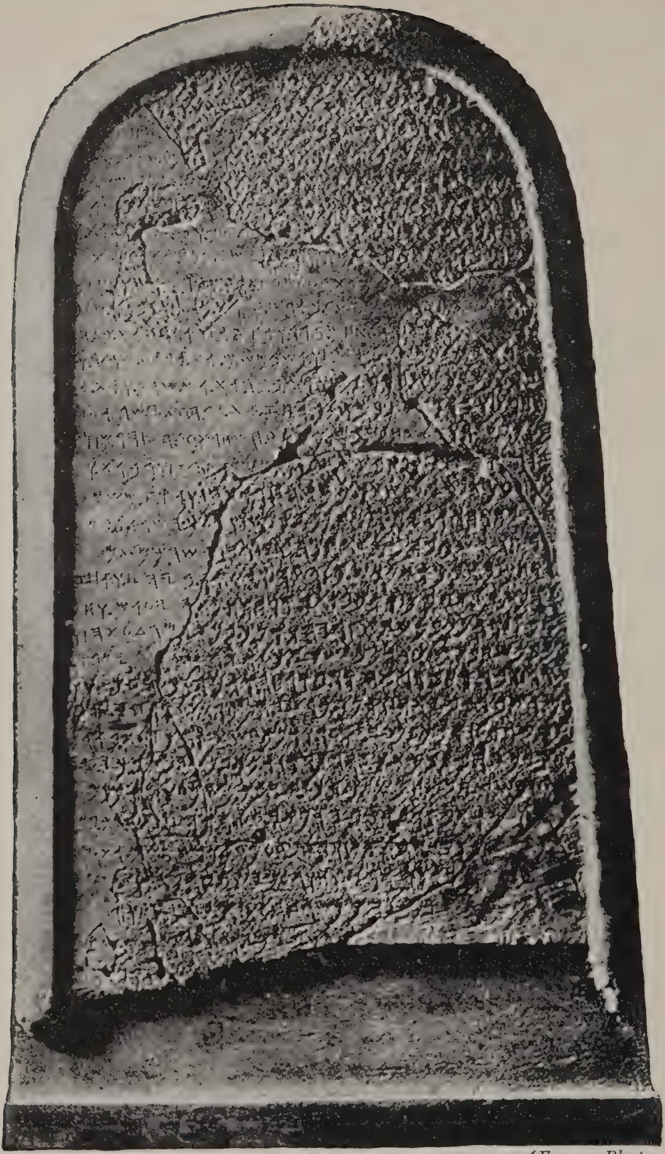
[19] Description of this pool and incident will be found in Jacks, *Samaria in Ahab's Time*, 23.



(From a Photograph.)

MOABITE STONE IN THE LOUVRE.

This stone gives an account of the war of Mesha, king of Moab about 860 B.C., against Omri, Ahab, and other kings of Israel.

After the death of Ahab, Mesha rebelled; and Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom, marched against him. He sacrificed his eldest son to his god Chemosh, upon the city wall, in sight of the invaders. This deed inspired his army with fresh courage, and they drove back the victorious armies of the allied kings with great slaughter, there being "great indignation against Israel."

Hebrew yoke that he had worn since the days of Omri. It had been costing him 200,000 sheep and lambs a year. Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah joined forces, made a seven-day march around south of the Dead Sea, and found themselves in a dry, unspeakable country, without water. Elisha is pictured as saving the situation by ordering holes to be dug in which water would appear,—without rain or wind. In this same region to the present day the run-off from the mountains, caught by underlying rock strata, lies invisible under burning sand. Upon digging a hole, fresh water percolates in, and stands near the surface.[20]

The Bible narrative indicates that a sudden desert storm flooded every gulch, and in the red rays of the rising sun it was taken as an omen of blood by the Moabites, who hastened to the spoil. It was a mistake. Israel prevailed, driving the Moabites back, filling their wells with dirt, throwing rocks on the fields, and cutting down trees. They could learn such little niceties from Assyria. In desperation, the Moabite king sacrificed his own son on the city wall and "great wrath came upon Israel." Here the story breaks off, with the Israelites apparently too angry to fight with that kind of a king (2 Kgs. 3:27).

The Hebrew account thus admits that Israel did not finish the Moabite campaign; the famous Moabite stone completes the story. Mesha's talents were more or less wasted in the limited environment of Moab. He should have had a strategic empire to work on, but he managed to rebuild cities, erect walls, construct reservoirs, and honor his god, Chemosh, by dragging the cult objects of other shrines before him. Hebrew captives built Kerah, and even a Yahweh altar was dedicated to Chemosh. The Moabite stone reveals why the biblical account breaks off so suddenly,—Mesha threw off Hebrew domination!

[20] This same phenomenon occurs in the cave-dweller region above the oasis of Twenty-nine Palms in California.

Lost Opportunity.—Far more important than his poor little kingdom was his act of leaving a contemporary record in a script and language that is a fragment of the living tongue of Old Testament days. If Mesha had only known! He could have achieved fame far beyond his wildest dreams by leaving more imperishable records for the Hebrew scholar who today must rely upon manuscripts written long after Hebrew ceased to be vernacular.

DID JEHU'S REVOLUTION HELP?

The Aramean Tangle.—Elisha worked deeper and deeper into the Aramean tangle. Evidently the prophetic party was convinced of Yahweh's power in the life of nations, also considering international movements as possible instruments of divine will. Just how Elisha knew so much about Aramean plans is not known. He and later writers would inevitably ascribe to Yahweh any revelation of information that came, even though Yahweh's instrument might be a friendly informer in the Aramean court.

The healing of Naaman is an index of possible friendly feelings, but the prophetic attitude toward Ben-Hadad was antagonistic. His invasion of Samaria was thwarted by pestilence after Jerusalem had been reduced to starvation. One scarcely dares say that Elisha went to Damascus to bring about a *coup d'état*, but certainly he performed no miracle to remove Ben-Hadad's sickness. On the other hand, it takes no professional psychologist to explain what went on in Hazael's mind when the prophet looking fixedly at him, announced the impending death of Ben-Hadad and the subsequent coronation of Hazael. Or was it a subtle warning that Elisha already knew of the plot whereby Hazael would seize the throne, to become a scourge to Israel? In any case, Ben-Hadad was doomed. Hazael smothered the king with a wet sheet!

DID ELISHA DO THE RIGHT THING?

Blood and Iron.—Whether the Aramean situation was prophetic interference or clever sensing of the inevitable, there is no doubt about the Jehu revolution. Elisha himself despatched the messenger to the camp at Ramoth Gilead to draft Jehu to the cause. In spite of Elijah's obvious failure to extirpate baalism by force, the prophetic party was to make one more desperate experiment in social surgery before the great teaching prophets appeared, with gentle, spiritual healing as a substitute.

Imagine a rough army camp! A wild looking runner pops into the circle, calling Jehu aside. A mumble of voices, then the messenger rushes from the house; Jehu appears in the doorway. His men clamor for information. Here is a leader of men who instantly tries their loyalty by accusing them of listening at the key-hole. Denial,—merciless gaze,—the men are true,—they can be trusted. Jehu announces the new kingship conferred by the prophetic party. Every cloak sweeps off and lies at his feet. A trumpet sounds. Jehu is king!

Jehu the butcher! A watcher on the wall sees a distant cloud of dust. Messengers go forth, but never come back. Only one charioteer in Israel drives like that. It is Jehu riding to vengeance for Yahweh. His theology is crude, but his activity unflagging. He asks nothing better than what he finds at Jezreel,—Joram of Israel convalescing from a wound received in battle with Hazael, and Ahaziah of Judah visiting him. Crying "treachery!" Joram flees, but Jehu's bow twangs; the arrow pierces his heart. The body is flung into Naboth's field, the tragic plot of ground that symbolizes so much of the Baal-Yahweh conflict. Ahaziah flees through the garden house, but before his sweating horses can top the hill of Gur at Ibleam, an arrow finds its mark. The stricken king rides to Megiddo, and dies there. In a jolting chariot the body is taken to the kings' tombs at Jerusalem.

Nemesis.—Jehu is after Jezebel, the arch enemy of the prophetic movement. No longer young, she is still eternally feminine and indomitable. She knows the game is played out; she is through. But she arrays her hair, paints her eyes, and superciliously greets Jehu from a window, taunting him with the epithet of "Zimri," the petty seven-day king and assassin of former years. With characteristic vigor, Jehu commands two servants to throw her down. The pariah dogs clear the streets of such refuse while Jehu samples the wine!

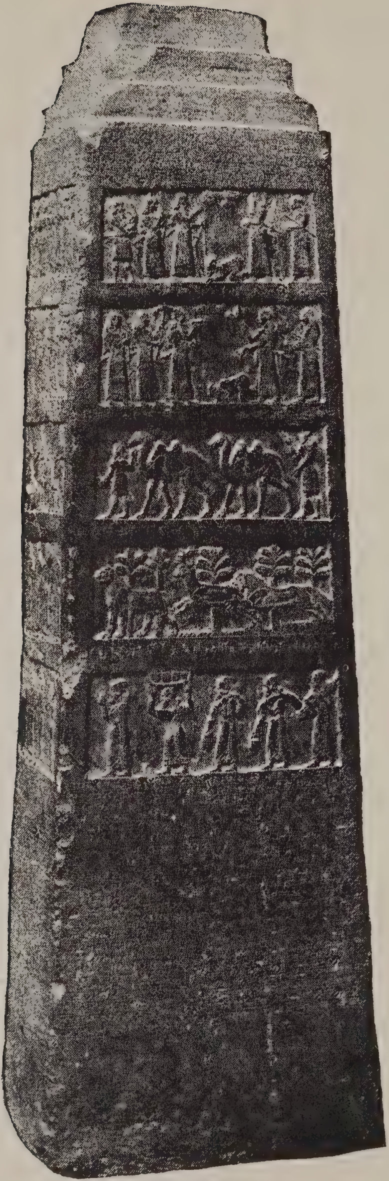
Ahab's descendants, supposedly seventy sons, are next. Jehu cunningly offers the Israelite elders the chance to select a lineal descendant of the Omri dynasty and fight it out. They refuse the offer, but Jehu receives several baskets full of heads. Piling them up by the city gate he brazenly asks who has done the most killing,—he in murdering a king, or they in killing seventy scions of royal blood. Obviously, the pot cannot call the kettle black. King murdering is not to be an accepted topic of conversation in Jehu's hearing!

On the road to Samaria, Jehu meets a company of Ahaziah's relatives. In the name of Yahweh, but in true despotic style, the new king orders their demise. Next he meets Jehonadab a Rechabite, staunch reactionary and Yahwehist of the desert school, who assures Jehu of Rechabite support, but probably does not count on precipitate friendship that will drag him into the royal chariot on a personally conducted excursion of choice killing. After a few remaining relatives of Ahab in Samaria are put to the sword, the major operation follows.

With the same ruthless cunning that has marked his meteoric career, Jehu gathers priests and people for an announced baal festival. Maybe the new king is coming to reason. Yahweh zeal was a good rallying feature, but now that the kingship is assured, the wealth and prestige of the baal party will not be amiss. In the temple compound, with every Yahwehist driven out, a gorgeous baalistic ritual begins, only to end in a sudden assault, swish of sword, the spurt of blood and groans of dying men. Not a man escapes. Once more the knife of the political surgeon, urged by the prophetic party, performs its ghastly work. It should kill the patient or cure the disease. It does neither. Both live on.

Wider Contacts.—Internationally, Jehu made a bigger dent on his world than the Bible admits. The Hebrew historian ends the annal by accusing Jehu of idolatry and sin, connecting this with the incessant wars with Hazael. But Jehu either tried to meet the Aramean advance by paying Assyria to worry Hazael, or there was some sort of alliance between Jehu and Aramea against Assyria that the Bible does not mention. Shalmanezer records the victories of his 18th year on his famous obelisk. Among tributaries Jehu is pictured. Even if this were tribute voluntarily given, it would not trouble an Assyrian king's ethics to picture it as booty from a captive. On the other hand, if Jehu did ally with Aramea, Israel evidently had to pay up when Shalmaneser settled the revolt. Jehu may have been only an army bully on holiday, but he managed to get a notable monumental record.

Jezebel's Daughter.—In the south, Athaliah, fated daughter of Jezebel, tried her own hand at bloody reform. While Jehu butchered for Yahweh, Athaliah slew for baal. This vigorous grandmother, upon the death of her son, at Jehu's hands, cleared the throne for herself by removing the grandsons—all but one who was hidden away by his aunt, Jehosheba, wife of Jehoiada a priest. Seven years later Jehoiada saw his chance. The temple guards were mercenaries. The ordinary guard of a hundred was doubled on Sabbath. At the moment of changing the guard, some four hundred men would be in the temple precincts. These mercenaries were keen enough to see the impending shift of empire and at a signal surrounded the

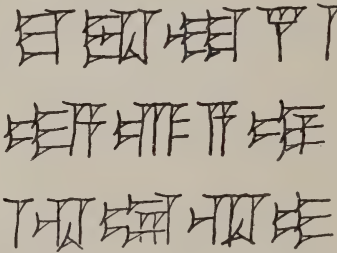


BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II., KING OF ASSYRIA.

(*From a Photograph by* CLARKE AND DAVIES.)

When the power of the Syrians of Damascus was broken by Shalmaneser there was a general submission to the Assyrian king. Jehu, king of Israel, was among those who sent tribute.

With rows of bas-reliefs on the four sides, with an account of the expeditions undertaken by Shalmaneser during the thirty-five years of his reign, and with scenes representing the paying of tribute by the kings whom he had conquered. First row showing the tribute of Sua; the second, the tribute of Jehu, son of Omri; the third, the tribute of the Musri; the fourth, of Marduk-abla-usur; the fifth, of Garparunda. This obelisk, found at Nimrud, is now in the British Museum.



Shalmaneser's cuneiform record of the "tribute of Jehu, son of Omri." Taking the signs in order as they come, they read: ma-da-tu (tribute) ša (of) amelu (man) Ia-u-a (Jehu) mar (son of) amelu (man) Ḫu-um-ri-i (Omri).

young Joash while the old cry, fraught so often with weal or woe, echoed down the corridors, "Long Live the King!"

Athaliah hears the tumult, rushes to the temple, wildly accuses the conspirators of treason, while Jehoiada coldly orders the guard to kill her outside so as not to pollute the temple. Out by the horse gate they catch her, and the blood of Tyrian Jezebel again dyes the stones. Jehoiada finishes the day's work by a great religious conference proclaiming Yahwehism the state religion, decreeing the complete destruction of the local baal temple, and executing Mattan, the rival priest of baal, whom Athaliah had probably been supporting as Jezebel did her official priests in the north.

DID ANYBODY CARE?

Joash of Judah.—Joash enjoyed a forty year reign and a fairly clear character at the hand of the Hebrew writer, even though local baal shrines were left standing. Probably this was due chiefly to the fact that he fostered a great temple repair. His first order for a general collection was followed by years of priestly inactivity. Energetically the king took over the project, had Jehoiada place in the temple court a sealed chest with a hole bored in the top. With petty graft ended, funds were available for repairs. Honesty became the rule; even the pay clerks were not asked to submit their accounts for audit. Joash must have had character!

His most serious problem came when Hazael, having captured the old Philistine city of Gath decided to round out his exploit by trying Jerusalem. Rather than stand seige, the king stripped the temple and bought off Hazael. It seemed like poetic justice, for this zealous temple repairer was also the man who, probably disgusted with the whole priestly party, strengthened the secular arm of government and permitted the nobility to re-introduce old cult practices, topping it all with a death sentence against

Zechariah who dared preach a denunciatory sermon in the temple precincts. The Bible does not say, but these facts may have induced the fatal conspiracy of Jozacar that ended in assassination for Joash. Local politics brought him to tragic death, but his temple activities guaranteed a good name.

The Three-Cornered Struggle.—By this time the political pot was seething throughout Palestine, Aramea, and Assyria. It is one thing to read a verse or two of the Bible telling of an Aramean raid, a long reign, or a new fortress, but quite another to insinuate one's self into the times to glimpse why these events happened. Assyria was the key to the world situation. While Hazael attacked Joash of Judah in 810 B.C., Adad-nirâri III (812-782 B.C.) was busy. Shalmaneser had died under the shadow of revolt; Shamshi-Adad did little to improve conditions; and Adad-nirâri had to depose his mother, Semiramis.[21] Whenever Assyria was occupied elsewhere, Palestine was sure to be in perpetual local ferment. At such a time Hazael or Ben-Hadad of Damascus could scourge Jehoahaz of Israel (2 Kgs. 13:1-3).

By 807 B.C. Assyria was back, invading *Palastu* (Philistine land or Palestine) collecting delinquent tribute, subduing Hittites, Amurru, Phoenicia, the south country, and (he says) "the land of Omri," i.e. Israel.[22] In any case, Adad-nirâri bottled up Mari (Ben-Hadad) of Damascus, laid heavy tribute, and gave Ben-Hadad something else to do other than to attack Israel. Some think in this way Assyria was the "savior" of Israel mentioned in 2 Kgs. 13:5.[23]

Assyrian vicissitudes may also lie back of Yahweh's

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[21] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, and *History of Assyria.*

[22] Adad-nirâri's own account may be read in Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament.*

[23] On this point there has been controversy. Some, interpreting through the reference in 2 Kgs. 14:26-27, think it refers to militant Jeroboam II. Others think that Adad-nirari is meant. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels,* 154; Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients,* 2d ed., 517. Schraeder, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* 1912, No. 2, notes that part of Adad-nirari's name is the verb *narâru* meaning "to save." Was it a scribal pun that caused the biblical writer to call Adad-nirari Israel's "savior" in the Aramean crisis?

"graciousness" (2 Kgs. 13:23) which finally permitted Jehoash of Israel to throttle Damascene power and recover lost commercial centers (2 Kgs. 13:25). It may be that Jehoash actually paid a bit of tribute to confirm Assyrian enmity against Damascus.[24]

Border Strife.—In the south, Amaziah slowly steadied his tottering new throne, killing Joash's assassins and diplomatically saving their children. Since the Hebrew kings had been otherwise engaged for some time Edom dreamed of revolt and a profitable raid, not realizing that just then Israel and Judah could readily attend to such a matter. From the Valley of Salt, south of the Dead Sea, to the cliffs of Sela, Amaziah chased the hardy desert men, and threw the captives from the cliffs.

Elated with success, Amaziah challenged Jehoash of Israel to a sort of civil-war contest,[25] which Jehoash answered in typical oriental fashion with a riddle about a thistle and a cedar. Amaziah was insistent, so at Beth-Shemesh the Hebrew armies met. Judah was defeated; Amaziah was captured, and carried to Jerusalem to observe the tearing down of part of the wall. Jehoash after raiding the temple treasures returned to Samaria. Such brotherly squabbling would scarcely have gone on except that Assyria was temporarily leaving them to their own devices.

Prosperity in Judah.—Similarly, when Azariah or Uzziah followed Amaziah in the south, Assyria was wrestling with bubonic plague, Haldian, and Babylonian revolt. It was a good time for a sixteen-year-old king to start a fifty-two-year reign.[26] The Ammonites were forced to pay Judah tribute; Edom was invaded; Gath was destroyed; and Ashdod and the old border fortress of Gibeon were restored as an outpost against any Israelite advances. Azariah promoted agricultural development, water storage, and sheep herding. His protective watch towers plentifully scattered throughout the kingdom have fortunately provided great numbers of potsherds for modern archaeologists to interpret. Far down in the South Country one of Azariah's forts has been unearthed.[27] Architecture flourished, and gates and towers were added to city walls.

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[24] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 414.

[25] In 2 Chron. 25:5-10 there is a rather hazy story of certain northern mercenaries, hired by Amaziah, whom he discharged and who took occasion to do some foraging on the way home. This might have caused the war.

[26] There is a chronological difficulty here. See *International Standard Biblical Encyclopaedia,* V. 3044.

Though passed by the biblical censor, Azariah countenanced a religious mixture far different from the ultimate Hebrew faith. Local shrines still had their devotees. Actual personal seals have been found,—one of Abijah (Abiyo) servant of Uzziah (Uzziyo), and another of Shebaniah servant of Uzziah. Both used Egyptian and Assyrian religious symbols even though their names were compounded with *Yo* or *Jah,* the old short form of Yahweh.[28] Azariah paid the penalty of careless religious ideas. He attempted to conduct a temple ritual over the protest of the priests. Afterward an attack of leprosy, doomed him to quarantine for the rest of his life.[29] It gave his twenty-five year old son Jotham a chance to add fourteen years of royal prerogatives to what would otherwise have been a two-year reign, with the thunder of Assyrian armies sounding in his ears. For Assyria was coming back, with renewed vigor.

Israel Supreme.—A comparison of the so-called Blessing of Jacob upon the tribes in Gen. 49, and the Blessing of Moses in Deut. 33, shows that the names, importance, and physical environments of the tribes are differently presented in each poem. The Genesis poem may crystallize conditions and ideas of the United Kingdom period.[30] The Deuteronomy poem is in the nature of a pseudepigraph, a later writing attributed to an ancient author, which well fits the middle of the eighth century.[31] In the first poem, a warning against Levi and Simeon is voiced; in the second

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[27] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* Chap. XXVII.

[28] Albright argues against this being necessarily the older form, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible,* appx., 217.

[29] The story is given both in Chronicles, where one might expect literary embellishment, and in Kings, where it has the possible authority of court annals. See Kent, *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives,* 284.

[30] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* 19 and index. Also Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament;* Eiselen, *Books of the Pentateuch.*

[31] Driver, *op. cit.,* 97, and *supra.*

Simeon does not exist, and Levi has become the exalted priestly clan. In the first Judah is exalted; in the second Judah gets four lines, Joseph and Asher a long eulogy. It is quite evident that a northern influence molded the later poem. The years of bickering and development had at last left northern Israel supreme commercially and politically. Jeroboam II came to a throne of comparative wealth, peace, and power.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Is the world too much in the hands of old men?
2. Would a world governed by youth be happier and more stable?
3. Do citizens prefer spectacular leaders?
4. Can new movements or reforms be accomplished without propaganda?
5. Do archaeological finds stimulate faith in the Bible?
6. Can true religion be propagated by questionable methods?
7. What do you think were the virtues of Jezebel, Jehu, Elijah and Elisha?

a. Should labor have a larger share in government?
b. Do civil conflicts achieve their objectives?
c. Is a military dictatorship desirable as an emergency measure?
d. Is a religious party desirable in politics?
e. Do some problems demand force as a solution?
f. Can a nation be disinterested in its relations with other nations?
g. Do political and protective alliances accomplish their purpose?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Beginnings of Israel's literature. (Bewer, LOT; Booth, BB, pp. 79-83; Driver, ILOT; Kent, GCOT; IHBN, i-ii; Wild, LGB; Willett, BTC.)
2. Calf worship among the Hebrews. (Fowler, OGRI; Lods, I, index "Bull" and "Golden Calf"; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index "Bull cult"; Smith, RI.)
3. The Apis and Hathor worship of Egypt. (Atkins, PG, II; Baikie, LAE, pp. 123, 382; Breasted, HE; DRTAE; Erman, HER; Moore, HR; Petrie, EI; Steindorf, RAE; Wiedemann, RAE.)
4. The Dan and Bethel shrines. (Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 353 ff.; Bib. Dict. and Enc.)
5. Fortresses and strategic centers of the two Hebrew kingdoms. (See Olmstead, HPS, plate and drawings; also Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc., II. pp. 1137 ff.)

a. Economic aspects of the council at Shechem. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XII; Clarendon Bible, II, pp. 210 ff.; Kent, STPJ; Wild, EHP, pp. 193-198.)

b. Establishing the date of the division of the kingdom. (Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 454, and esp. p. 62 n.2.)

c. The Philistine problem in the tenth century. (Albright, APB, index; Hall, AHNE, index; Lods, I, index; Macalister, in Schweich Lectures, 1911, q.v.; Olmstead, HPS, index; Salaman, in Pal. Ex. Fund Statement, 1925, q.v.)

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6. Samaria in Ahab's time. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB; Camb. Anc. Hist., III; Jack, SAT; Macalister, CEP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XV; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 370 ff.; Bull. ASOR, No. 45, p. 22.)

7. Assyria's western conquests. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, map No. 18; Barton, AB, pp. 64-69; Breasted, AT, pp. 144-151; Olmstead, HA; Rogers, HBA.)

d. The Harvard excavations at Samaria. (Reisner, Fisher, Lyon, HES.)

e. Damascus in Palestinian politics. (Barton, HHP; Hall, AHNE; Olmstead, HA; HPS.)

f. Economic background of the Damascene conflict. (Breasted, AT, pp. 146-148; Kent, HHC, pp. 154-155; STPJ, II; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 312-313; Wild, EHP, p. 194.)

g. Possible sources for the compilation of the books of Kings. (Bewer, LOT; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, pp. 92-100; Kent, GCOT, II; IHBN, pp. i-ii; McFadyen, MPPH; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 268-269.)

CHAPTER VI

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This section marks a turning point. Characters and literature become central, with history as a setting. The method of organization will be adapted to the material.
2. Four prophets of the Assyrian period will be studied: Amos and Hosea in Israel; Isaiah and Micah in Judah.
3. Read accompanying narrative in 2 Kgs. 15-20.
4. Outline each prophet under the four or six heads suggested on page 202, i.e. (1) Historical Situation; (2) Character of the Man; (3) The problem(s); (4) The Solution(s); (5) Popular Religious Concepts; (6) The Prophet's Religious Concepts. Some such outline is imperative if the prophets are to be properly differentiated and understood. Build up a complete historical and problem setting for each prophet.

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5. Read text and the book of Amos; study Canaanite cult practices; the geography of Bethel; evidences of national decay; the situation between Assyria and Damascus, (Bewer, LOT, VII; Dinsmore, EBL, XII; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, pp. 404 ff.; Kent, BGH, index Bethel, Tekoa; SEAEP; STPJ, II; Lods, I; Mitchell, in Jl. Bib. Lit., 1887 q.v.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XVII; Olmstead, HA; HPS, pp. 423-432, 451; Smith, OTH, pp. 211 ff.; Smith, PI; Wild, LGB, index Amos.)

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6. Build the Hosea outline upon the foundation of the Amos data, but notice the Egypto-Assyrian problem; study this from the standpoint of history and archaeology. (See No. 5 above; Breasted, HE; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, pp. 354 ff.; Knopf, BYMT; Olmstead, HPS, p. 436; Smith, OTH, pp. 222 ff.; Waterman, in Jl. Bib. Lit., XXXVII, p. 193; Wild, LGB, index Hosea.)

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7. In studying Isaiah, draw an outline map and chart the movements of the nations involved so as to demonstrate the interplay of forces and the situations created thereby. Carry through the four or six-fold outline for each period of Isaiah's work. (See above; Barton, AB, pp. 424-438; Olmstead, HA; HPS, XXVII-XXIX; Rogers, CPOT, pp.

332-348; Fullerton, Kaplan, Mitchell, Peters, in Jl. Bib. Lit., XXXVII-XL; Kennett, in Schweich Lectures, 1909, q.v.)

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8. Outline Micah with special attention to social problems. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 117 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, pp. 471 ff.; Kent, KPIJ; SEAIP; STPJ; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 463 ff.)
   a. List the known facts concerning the fall of Damascus and Samaria. (Barton, AB; Hall, AHNE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XVIII; Olmstead, HA; HPS; Rogers, CPOT.)
   b. Study carefully the roads and trade routes of Palestine, the topography, and trace troop movements in the light of these data. (Barton, AB, VII.)
   c. Identify place names and keep maps at hand continually. (Maps in: Bailey and Kent, HHC; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I; Olmstead, HPS; Oxford Helps.)
   d. See each prophet in terms of his own day, but seek also the underlying religious principles that make him a voice for today. (Badè, OTLT; Hill, PLT; Kent, STPJ; McCown, GSG; Weston, PPL.)
   e. Note the textual problems, the efforts of scholars to discover what may have been the original utterances of the prophets. (Cripps, CECA; Driver, ILOT; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II; Int'l Critical Comm.; Notes in Jl. Bib. Lit.)

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9. Read 2 Kgs. 21, then fill in the details of world history for this period, especially the reign of Ashurbanipal of Assyria. (Barton, AB; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XX; Olmstead, HA; HPA, XXXII; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 283 ff.; Brit. Mus. Guide, index.)
10. As though you were reading it for the first time, read Gen. 1-12 and derive the simplest answer to the following questions: Who created all? Was it done instantly? Was there any order in it? What was the highest created form? How did it differ from other creatures? What kind of life did God intend man to live? What was the result of sin? What was the punishment? Why was Noah saved? (Badè, OTLT; Booth, BB, VI; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 134-137; Kent, STPJ, IV; Swain, WWG, pp. 212 ff.)
11. Read in English translation the cuneiform versions of the creation and flood stories; compare the development of plot, literary style and religious ideas in the cuneiform and biblical versions. Review Clay's Amurru theory of origins. Consider the results of the excavations at Ur. (Barton, AB, Pt. II; chaps. I, II, IV, VI, VII; Budge, BLC; BSD; Clay, AHNS; HDS; OBT; Langdon, SM; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 3-44, 103-112; Smith, CAG; Woolley, S; Brit. Mus. Guide; Mus. Jl., U. of Pa., '24, '25, '27, '29.)

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12. Outline Zephaniah according to the four- or six-fold plan. Study the

Scythian invasion, its possible origin and results. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 136 ff.; Kent, SEAIP; Olmstead, HPS, p. 440.)

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f. Review the discussions of Canaanite cults and practices. Note geographical locations of any such cult centers connected with Manasseh's reign; study a map of Jerusalem and locate any sites involved in this and the following Jeremiah narratives. (Barton, AB, Pt. I, XIV; Kent, BGH; Lods, I; Olmstead, HPS; Smith, HGHL; Wood, in Jl. Bib. Lit., XXXV.)

Prophet Reformers

Assyrian Period

WAS THERE A WAY OUT?

A Word about Prophets.—Man persistently seeks to do business with the Unseen. At its best this business is friendship; at its worst it is begging for special favors; in its most useless form it is trying to divine the future. Yet there is place for a legitimate understanding of God's purposes and laws, leading to a true *revelation*. The honest effort to know God's will and the courageous presentation of consequences that follow disregard of that will gave rise to the greatest thought movement in world history—Hebrew prophetism as represented in the writing prophets of the Old Testament.

As previously noted (p. 135) the English word, "prophet," is from the Greek *prophētēs*, as applied to interpreters of the Pythian or Delphic oracles. This pagan concept induced a misleading emphasis upon *fore*telling.[1] The true nature and function of the prophet is shown in the Semitic term *nabî*. If spelled with a final Hebrew letter *'aleph*, the verbal root means "to call," "proclaim," or

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[1] Primitive men thought many phenomena such as dreams, visions or ecstasy directly from deity or due to spirit possession. Such experiences were desired as a means of communication with or revelation from God. Naturally, it became professionalized and the magicians, shamans, dervishes and soothsayers were the logical outcome. Many of them were sincere in their own beliefs, but prophecy as known in the Old Testament rose inmeasurably higher. On some of the primitive practices, see Wallis, *Messiahs, Christian and Pagan;* Frazer, *Golden Bough.*

"speak forth." If spelled with a final Hebrew letter *'ayin* it means "to bubble up," "boil," or "pour forth" (a flow of words). Scholars have differed[2] but the suggestion that these men of God bubbled up or boiled over and poured forth their messages prepares one to understand them in a far better way than is possible if one restricts them to pagan fortune telling. The prophet is a speaker for God. As such, and in his keen-minded analysis of a situation in the light of God's ultimate will, he sees the inevitable outcome of events and may actually tell what impends before it happens.

The Meaning of Inspiration.—The inspiration of a *nabî* is just what the word implies—an in-breathing of God's eternal truth. This inspiration does not reduce the prophet to a gibbering clairvoyant or an animated dictaphone. Instead of being dulled, the prophet is acutely conscious. He sees where others are blind; hears where others are deaf; understands where others are muddled. Inspiration heightens every intellectual function, and it is in this state of crystal sanity that the prophet sees men, events, and tendencies in perspective; glimpses the ultimate outcome of policies; and with an assurance born of this God-like understanding thunders forth his "Thus saith the Lord!"

How does inspiration come? A tree, a poem, a friend, a meditation, a prayer,—through such experiences men have felt contact with the Divine. Injustice, oppression, wickedness, and political chicanery on one side, and a sense of God's righteousness and will on the other, fused into a white heat in the prophet's mind until his whole being was surcharged with God, righteousness, indignation, and certitude. Thus stirred by God and events, the prophet burst forth.

Types of Prophets.—In the early days, the man who established a special contact with God was termed the

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[2] Notably Gesenius, Kuenen, Hupfeld, Riehm, Schultz, König, Smith.

rô'eh, from a Hebrew root meaning "to look." Such an inspector, or diviner might take omens by inspecting the entrails of a sacrificial victim. The *ḥôzeh,* from a Hebrew root meaning "to watch" or "to gaze," might fix his gaze upon the flight of a bird, or upon the stars. Dreams, visions, and planetary motions came under his scrutiny, and from his accumulation of lore sprang astrology. The *nabî* was a higher type. Prophetic guilds, or sons of the prophets, probably existed near famous shrines such as Gilgal and Bethel long before Saul met his primitive band. Prophetism was a decided movement, and a comparison of Moses, Deborah, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, and others shows that the three functions of *rô'eh, ḥôzeh,* and *nabî* sometimes overlapped.

WHY DID THE PROPHETS BEGIN TO WRITE?

From Force to Knowledge.—Elijah and Elisha were the logical successors to the early seers, and represented a transition to the writing prophets. Theirs was the first touch of great social problems, voices of protest, but lacking the careful analysis and wide horizons of the later prophets. *Force had failed to make Yahwehism supreme.* With the writing prophets, the baal-Yahweh struggle in terms of ruthless bloody reform gave way to the finer method of teaching, exhortation, and love.

The Prophetic Books.—The literature of this new prophetic school was broad and varied, so rich in figures of speech that proof texts could be wrested by later generations to prove almost any vagary of doctrine. Yet these books grew out of contemporary history and crises. Vivid figures and allusions occur to which the key has been lost. Many of the books are but fragments, excerpts and summaries of sermons, with broken thought. It may be that the prophets sometimes wrote on *ostraka,* broken pieces of pottery. One can imagine the difficulty of assembling an ordered book with numbered pages from a basket full of Jeremiah's remarks! Centuries of copying have permitted corruption of the original text, and added explanatory interpolations, yet these very items testify to the interest that men have had in these inspired utterances.

Prophetic Methods.—The prophetic school used various methods. Diplomacy and statesmanship played a large part. Direct address was used to move the masses. Dramatic action served to arrest attention. Musical rhythm aided memory. Codes and epigrams crystallized ideals. Entertaining narratives with ethical import satisfied and stimulated child-like minds. To use a catch phrase, one should be POSTED on these facts, knowing that the prophetic books contain: P-oems, O-rations, S-tories, T-racts, E-pigrams and D-rama.

A Schematic Outline.—One may well approach the prophets like a news reporter, to find *Who* did *What, Where, When, How* and *Why*. Another method of organizing the mass of data concerning each book or prophet is to follow some such outline as:

a) Historical Situation or Stage Setting
b) Character of the Man
c) The Prophet's Problem or What Was On His Mind
d) His Suggested Solution or What He Proposed to Do About It

To these may be added two more:

e) The Popular Religious Ideas
f) The Prophet's Concept of God and Religion.

In some cases the last two are in themselves a problem and a solution. Glittering generalities to the effect that "the people were wicked"; "the prophet preached against idols and told the people they should worship Jehovah" will never unlock the treasures of prophetic personality and power. Such pious platitudes leave cold indifference in a generation that desperately needs prophetic insight.

WHO WAS AMOS?

Amos of Tekoa; Historical Situation.—About 750 B.C. a Judean shepherd appeared at the Bethel shrine where a religious festival was in progress. Jeroboam II was on the throne. Assyrian pressure had drawn Damascus' attention away from Samaria. It was a post-war period, with the usual aspects. War demands that every ounce of energy and productive power be brought into action for prosecution of the task. Upon its cessation, the wheels keep spinning as it were, and expenditures drop off, so that a nation may accumulate goods and wealth with great rapidity. It goes through the reckless stage of post-war prosperity. Such was Israel after a century of bickering with Aramea.

In that ancient world, easy money would be spent not only upon land, wives, and palaces, but a part of it would go into gorgeous religious rites befitting the wealth of the worshippers and the glory of a victorious god. Bethel was gorged with merrymakers in the name of Yahweh, celebrating with all the abandon of the lewd Canaanite cults.

Wars must be paid for. He who has nothing cannot pay; he who has much often evades payment; but the great middle class bears the brunt. Israel's freemen were taxed out of existence. Lands were mortgaged to secure tax money. Foreclosure followed, with the result that land was concentrating in the hands of a few, while the middle class was practically eliminated. This made a sharp stratification of society, with a small privileged class and a submerged mass in virtual slavery.

Amos, the Man.—Into such a situation a stern apostle of justice projected himself. As it stands, the biblical text pictures a sheep man from rugged Tekoa, in the badlands, southeast of Jerusalem, who made extra money on the side during fig season.[3] He may have visited the shrines to sell sheep. If so, he had seen rampant immorality and smug content. Out in the desert there was time to think, under the stars where one's soul is washed clean and unimportant things take proper place. From the desert the early Hebrews came, with Yahweh and a stern sense of social solidarity. Amos, on the desert fringe, touched by its breath, pondered, saw, and suddenly became *nabî*—one boiling and ready to speak God's eternal truth to the Bethel rioters.

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[3] Some have questioned this, notably Paul Haupt, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, pts. III-IV, 280, as Tekoa is not sycamore country and the Hebrew word translated "shepherd" goes back to a root meaning "dotted" or "punctured." As a

This desert makes hardy men. Danger from man and beast ever impends. Distance and clear atmosphere stimulate keen vision. It is a world of stern reality, where one does not trifle with God's laws with impunity. In such a school of experience one senses the bigness of the Creator and the certainty of His action. From such a school a courageous, fiery, unbending preacher of right and justice might be expected to come.

The Prophet's Problem.—The problem grew out of economic and religious conditions. Concentration of wealth and power had led to misuse of authority. The executive branch of government was corrupt; the judiciary was dishonest. A relatively small wealthy class was growing ever more opulent at the expense of an over-taxed citizenry. Usury, extortion, dishonesty were played against a background of feasting and drunken debauchery in the name of Yahweh celebrations.

Popular Religious Concepts.—These practical problems were intensified by current beliefs. Hebrew theology had long held that God prospered the righteous. These sophisticates inverted that statement and assumed that if they were prosperous they must have been righteous! Their God was limited in his attentions, caring little for other nations as evidenced by the fact that at last he had delivered Israel from the Aramean gods, and he would continue to favor and protect his people as long as they loaded

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grower and puncturer of sycamore figs, Amos might have come from the Philistine frontier.

the altars with sacrifices, and danced and sang themselves crazy in festival praise. Already prosperity reigned; in a coming mysterious "day of Yahweh" Israel would reach the pinnacle of glory, above all nations, supreme, secure.

The Prophet's Concept.—Over against this was the sweeping vision and rugged justice of a son of the desert. Amos knew Yahweh as ruler of the world and all nature. Fifty-two times he uses the intimate, personal name, Yahweh.[4] In his heart the old desert religion survived. With his prophetic insight are combined some of the old Sinai features,—famine, drought, mildew, locusts. In fact, convinced that God can scourge man if necessary until he is forced to think, Amos sees even distant Assyria as a threatening tool in Yahweh's hands. As cause and effect work in nature, so it must operate in moral law. God is merciful if sought, but irrevocably just. It is like desert life —safe if one fits into its laws, but inexorable.

The Solution.—Amos' solution to the problems of the day is apparent in an analysis of the book. He advocated a new focus of life, a development of Israel's religious and moral heritage rather than a mad scramble for wealth and power. The opportunities of the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II entailed national responsibility. Socialization of all classes of society, from highest to lowest, was imperative if economic and political ruin were to be avoided.

WHAT DID HE SAY?

High Lights.—Picture the festival at Bethel, a week of celebration,—the altar, the priests in gorgeous vestments, the nobles, their bespangled women, and on the outer fringes of the crowd as many common folk as could get there. Suddenly a lone figure stands by the altar. His dress proclaims humble status. With diplomatic acumen he first scores hated neighbors. Yahweh will punish Damascus, the enemy of a century. Gaza, Philistine center, non-Hebraic (an appeal to race differences), ancient opponent to Hebrew advance in Palestine, will be tumbled in ruin together with Ashdod, Askelon and Ekron; Moab, home of sheep stealers and threshing floor raiders; Ammon, ruthless butcher of women and children, will feel divine justice.[5]

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[4] Once (9:15) he uses it with the common term later found in Deuteronomy, *'elôhêka;* and again he uses the more general *'elôhîm* (4:11).

Up to this point, Amos is using a masterful psychological method. Talking about the neighbors interests his hearers whose ancient grudges are thus condoned. Nodding heads approve this gruff desert dweller's remarks. With this attitude of assent established, Amos strikes home. "For three transgressions of Israel and for four" . . . because they sell the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of old sandals. *The first sermon of the first writing prophet of the Old Testament concerns an economic and social problem;* it climaxes in an accusation of exploitation of the poor by pious religionists whose creed concerns formality rather than good will.

Am. 2:8. The revelers spend the nights in the open, wrapped in the outer garment. (There were no hotels in that ancient world. Palestinian climate permitted open air life.) Some of them are protected by garments that have been wrested from debtors. In the name of religion they are assembled; through ruthless extortion they are protected. Even their wine is from petty official graft secured through misappropriation of fines.

3:3-6. The prophetic perception of the laws of cause and effect, a reason for everything. When Assyria comes, it will be because of Israel's sin, not because of Yahweh's weakness.

3:7. The prophet's credential. He who is in-breathed of God perceives truth.

3:8. The lion symbolizes Assyria. The roar has already been heard in the distance. Danger impends. Who could help boiling over and speaking forth?

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[5] Others are mentioned, but these four constituted Israel's enemies. Edom (Am. 1:11) troubled southern Judah, but not Israel; Tyre was never an active enemy. The indictment of Judah (Am. 2:4) is in the language of a later day. Probably all these extended invectives were later additions to the original manuscript, as they have even a different poetic rhythm.

3:14-15. So little does Yahweh care about their altars and celebrations that soon the altars themselves will be in ruin. The famous Têmâ Stone depicts a horned altar. The ivory palace of Ahab, still standing in Samaria, is doomed.

4:1-3. One of the most striking passages in the Bible. Hebrew is built up from word roots that carry a rich connotation, permitting apt play upon words and sharp witticisms. Amos suddenly pours his scorching invective upon the sleek, over-dressed, over-fed, over-indulged, sneering women who by this time are ridiculing his earnest pleading. "Hear this word ye kine of Bashan." The meaning of "kine" is well known; Bashan was a region where cattle grew very fat. But the play upon words is clear to Amos' hearers, who speak Hebrew. *Parôth*, feminine plural, in their ears connotes not only "cow," but also the little wild asses of Palestine. *Bashan* means "sleek," "fat." A literal translation is not elegant, but there is no doubt of the biting scorn of Amos' descriptive epithets.

These Samaritan women are heartless in their demands for money and indulgence. Resting upon the basic principle that when the womanhood of a nation has lost its idealism the nation is doomed, Amos confidently announces the destruction of Samaria and pictures these selfsame women going forth as Assyrian captives. Here is no clairvoyant medium, but a rugged inspired sheep herder; his vision sees clearly the inevitable trend of events. (What he announced about 750 B.C. took place in 722 B.C.)

4:4. A sarcastic reference to their repeated festivals, now at one, then at another shrine. They go to worship, but their worship is a travesty. They go through the rituals, for so they love to do! It is the drama, not Yahweh, that appeals to them.

4:6-12. This is no world in which to be careless. Life is serious business. Hardships come. Their fathers suffered calamities, and humbly recognized the power and need of God. Israel is headed for destruction.

5:7. The corrupt judiciary.

5:10. The popular attitude toward the reformer.

5:11. Their wealth is cursed and futile.

5:18-20 and 8:3, 9, 10-14. The day of the Lord, popular delusion of an exalted Israel and world rule, to be rather a day of Yahweh's judgment upon Israel. The figures of speech are striking.

6:1, 3-6. The dissolute youth of the day lie on ivory couches, and loll over their divans. They feast on the roly-poly calves.[6] They yammer[7] to the sound of the lyre; they try to out-do the immortal David.[8] They feast, they drink, and they preen their bodies, but they have no care for their country's peril. Amos does not condemn youthful gayety as such, but he does plead for a balanced life that shall offset pleasure with a sense of responsibility.

8:4-6. A picture of the market place, where these pseudo-worshippers of Yahweh impatiently await the passing of the sabbath and new-moon restriction in order to buy cheaply, sell dearly, short weight the customers, and pass off inferior goods. Evidently the new-moon festival was kept as well as sabbath in the eighth century B.C.

7:10-14. Written in prose, probably by some editor of the prophetic school who wished to preserve this bit of biography together with the fiery sermons. Amaziah, guardian of special privilege, accuses Amos of treason because he has dared criticize the king. The king's official sanctuary is no place for a man of God to disturb the populace with the truth. Besides, Amos is a southerner, daring to scourge a northern audience. Amos disclaims any connection with the prophetic guild; not as a professional prophet but as a boiling, bubbling, forth-speaking, inspired sheep herder he has come. His commission is from God; nothing can stop him.

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[6] From a Hebrew root meaning "to roll," *i.e.*, in fat.

[7] The root means "to stammer," or drawl uncertainly. In Aramaic it signifies small coins. Their musical efforts have the worthless chink of base money.

[8] Here Amos uses the word *kelî*, often applied to a clay pot, certainly not a figure of fine musical quality. It is delicious sarcasm.

5:21-23. The climax. A striking picture of one of these ancient festivals.

5:24. *The Solution.* A clear, brief statement of the solution to Samaria's problem,—justice and righteousness. In a complex world the first reaction of a modern reader is that the solution is too simple and abstract, but basic principles are usually simple and universal. To inaugurate justice and righteousness in almost any community or the home town would so change its aspect tomorrow as to make it a foreign land to its own inhabitants.

8:1-2. One of the significant plays upon words. One of the revelers may have had a basket of fruit, *qayiṣ*. A Hebrew mind would easily associate a similar word, *qêṣ* "the end." Using it as a striking point of contact, Amos proclaims: "See that *qayiṣ*? Verily the *qêṣ* is here!" (ṣ = ts).

9:1-4. An epilog; a parting fling and a warning as his sturdy figure brushes past the pompous Amaziah, disappearing to the south on the trail to Tekoa.

WAS LOVE THE WAY OUT?

Historical Situation.—The work of Hosea probably took place within a decade of Amos. The superscription of the book indicates an activity of almost a hundred years, but obviously this was added by later editors. The allusions in the book itself help to fix the dates, probably between 745 B.C. and 735 B.C. The first three chapters fit the closing years of the reign of Jeroboam II. Chapters 4-14 suggest the period of anarchy and rapid national decline that followed Jeroboam's death.

The Jehu dynasty was almost at an end. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, reigned about six months; Shallum, his murderer, lasted a month. Menahem from the old revolt center of Tirzah[9] marched upon Samaria, assassinated Shallum, butchered prospective mothers in opposing towns, aroused the ire of the wealthy class, and inaugurated ten years of political intrigue. The nobility sought Egyptian aid to throttle Menahem's power; the king retaliated by cunningly capitalizing the Assyrian revival in the west.

Tiglath Pileser was pulling Assyria out of the slough of decline; the shadow of the vampire was upon Palestine. Assyria was about to approach her zenith. Within a few years Damascus would fall; a decade later Samaria would lie in ruins. Menahem levied heavy taxes upon the wealthy classes to secure tribute money to buy Assyrian favor against Egypt.[10] His throne cost him a thousand talents of silver, (fifty shekels tax on each millionaire,) and embroiled Israel in the Assyro-Egyptian quarrel.

The Man.—Unlike Amos, Hosea was from the north. He was young, young enough to marry the wrong girl. Gomer had the characteristics of a Canaanite. It is probable that in the typical community harvest festivals of Palestine a loyal Hebrew Yahwehist and a baal-tinctured Hebrew girl (of mixed blood?) met. If so, their basic ideals were at variance. Sensitive, sympathetic, and sincere, Hosea was stirred deeply by the philanderings of his young wife whose baalistic background sanctioned easy morals.

The biblical picture is that of a broken hearted young husband, yet this terrific experience makes him a prophet. Gomer is faithless. Her children cannot influence her; their very names are an accusation. The path leads ever downward. At last, it seems, she is for sale in the market place. Hosea finds her there; love sees not bedraggled Gomer, but the east Jordan girl of his youth. Love is blind, kind, forgiving, and forgetting. Suddenly the *inspiratio* flames in Hosea's heart. *That is the way God loves!* Israel is like a faithless wife; Yahweh like a loving husband. Israel's international intrigues are but illicit loves. Yahweh will still love and forget and save if Israel will return. It is the absolute negation of the old Elijah and Jehu method. Love must win. Bubbling, boiling, proclaiming, Hosea goes forth to become the great Old Testament apostle of love.

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[9] Tirzah was the center from which charioteer Zimri operated for one tragic week after slaying king Elah during a drunken feast.

[10] 2 Kgs. 15:19; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 66; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 436, 439.

The Problem.—Hosea foresaw Israel as a mere pawn in the game of empire. Egypt and Assyria, fleeting lovers, would leave her stripped and broken. Menahem was hopelessly corrupt; the nobility no better. Making overtures to Egypt, then to Assyria, was inviting ruin. Israel could only lose, whichever power won. Hosea's harrowing personal experience was transmuted into an analysis of the international problem. It was a problem of intrigue, underhanded liaison, growing out of the faithlessness to the true lover, Yahweh. Only love could forgive; only love could reform. The problems of Amos were intensified by this international aspect.

The Solution.—As might be expected, Hosea emphasized love and knowledge. If Gomer had only loved, if she had not been a fool, tragedy would have been averted. Hosea sees the end of individual and social wrong-doing when humanity really cares; he sees a basic connection between right-doing and sound knowledge of facts and tendencies.

High Lights.—Hos. 1:3. A reflection of personal experience. There is a chaste oriental frankness in the narrative.

1:2. Pictures the purchase of a slave, and the love-blind Hosea who still sees beauty and possibilities in a bedraggled outcast.

1:7. Refers to Judah, which is no concern of Hosea or his prophecy. It is a clear illustration of later editing by Judean scribes.

4:1-2. A "Bill of Particulars." These are the sins of the underworld.

4:6. Ignorance is a national peril. Israel, like Gomer, is blindly following a primrose path to destruction.

4:9. The priesthood from whom intellectual and spiritual leadership should come is corrupt. The nation is a reflection of its leadership.

4:11-13. Baal cults flourish, to the detriment of the fine old Yahweh ideals.

5:15-6:3. Like Gomer, they assume that they can go home when there is no place else to go. Like Hosea, God will be waiting. Wrongs can be patched up. It is taking sordid advantage of a great love.

6:4. The heart cry of a noble lover. Gomer has little upon which to build; Israel's love of Yahweh is a vaporous emotion.

7:9. Strangers, like Assyria, have devoured many a talent of silver.[11] Israel is politically and morally senile.

7:12. Treaties with Egypt and Assyria are the false hope of simpletons and infantile statesmen.

7:13. Gomer has lied about Hosea. His love and goodness she has misinterpreted to her lovers. So Israel maligns Yahweh when refusing to trust Him, questioning the Divine power in international crises.

8:4. Anarchy, blood, and unholy political ambition can never be a part of the God will for Israel.

9:6. Give Egypt or Assyria a foothold, and Israel will be subdued.

9:7. The popular attitude toward a prophet. Gomer's attitude toward Hosea.

10:13-14. The Egyptian treaty.

11:1. Recalling Yahweh's early love of Israel. The pronoun "them" in vs. 2 is plural and the antecedent in vs. 1 should be also. The Hebrew text is corrupt, but reference to the Septuagint and Targums suggests that Hosea said that Yahweh had loved Israel in Egypt and had called his sons thence, only to find that the more He called *them* the further they strayed. In any case, the reading "sons" (plural) is preferable.[12]

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[11] So Shalmanezer from Jehu, and Tiglath-pileser from Ahaz of Judah. See Barton and Rogers, *op. cit.*

[12] Centuries later, when a complete rabbinical system of scripture interpretation was in vogue, this statement would naturally be paralleled with another Egyptian incident, but this does not mean that Hosea was thinking of the infant Jesus at all.

11:8-9. The way Hosea feels about Gomer, so Yahweh feels about Israel.

14:3-7. Hosea's dream of a reclaimed Israel. Beauty and faithfulness will mark the sobered nation.

6:6. *The Solution.* Love and knowledge. Like many prophetic suggestions, this seems too simple and abstract, yet these two elements would completely transform human relations.

WHAT ELSE WENT ON?

Other Writings.—Hosea was the last northern prophet, though activities of the prophetic guild may have continued. During this period of prophetic outburst many ancient traditions and annals of Israel may have been reduced to written form, comprising a body of material that could eventually be woven in with similar writings of Judah. This northern, or Ephraimitic version of Hebrew lore, had definite characteristics of language, grammar, point of interest, and theology.[13] It comprises what scholars term the "E" stratum of the Old Testament.[14]

Fomenting Trouble.—Assyria set the stage for the final act in the tragedy of Ephraim, and for the opening scene in the long drama of Judean prophecy, initiated by the youthful Isaiah in 738 B.C. Tiglath-pileser IV had founded the second Assyrian empire. He organized the army, centralized governmental bureaus at Nineveh, and set out to win the territory and trade of the West. By 738 B.C. he had subjected the independent kingdom of Hamath, and had greedily accepted Menahem's tainted tribute; five years later he was forcing the issue with Rezin of Damascus.

Pekah of Israel joined the Damascene, and both threatened southern Judah if she failed to ally herself against

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[13] A list of comparative phrases from Ephraimitic and Judean sources is given in Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History,* 357-360. See also Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.*

[14] This was but a step in the formation of the final draft of Israel's lore. A century later it was edited in a combined Judeo-Ephraimitic version.

Assyria. (734 B.C.) Ahaz of Judah stripped the treasury and temple for gold to buy Tiglath-pileser's help. The Assyrian acted promptly, executing a flank movement upon Damascus and Israel. Damascus fell in 732 B.C.;[15] Rezin was slain; Hebraic Naphtali was invaded; and tribesmen transported to distant Assyria. Ahaz visited his wily deliverer at Damascus, saw a beautiful heathen altar, and ordered a copy for Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem. All together, it was a time to try a prophetic soul. It called for a bubbling, boiling, proclaimer of righteousness.

WHO WAS ISAIAH?

Historical Situation.—The first period of Isaiah's work began with the death of Uzziah in 738 B.C.[16] Uzziah ascended the throne at sixteen for a long reign of fifty-two years. Commerce expanded, the army was reorganized and equipped,[17] new towns and forts were built, storage reservoirs were constructed, and agriculture fostered. Unfortunately, during a temple ceremony Uzziah, who otherwise seems to have a clear record, attempted to engage in forbidden priestly functions. He was discovered to be a leper, and his son Jotham became co-regent (2 Kgs. 15:5 and 2 Chron. 26:21).

The Man.—Isaiah was active over a period of almost fifty years. Here was a new prophetic type, a youthful aristocrat. Brilliant of mind, poetic of temperament, with a penchant for statesmanship, it is no wonder that Uzziah's death and the world situation should crystallize in a vivid temple vision (Isa. 6).

Isaiah is meditating. Suddenly the symbolism of the sanctuary becomes real. The smoke of incense becomes the cloud vestments of God; the seraph figures seem to chant; the very foundations seem to tremble as the young prophet is swayed by his emotion. He feels his own unworthiness, but is so completely carried away by his experience that he visions one of the seraphs lifting a purifying coal from the altar to touch his lips, while an unseen voice proclaims him fit and chosen of Yahweh.

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[15] An illuminating discussion appears in *Schweich Lectures*, 1926, 36 ff. See Olmstead, *History of Assyria*.

[16] An Associated Press dispatch of March 10, 1932, credits Dr. J. W. Sukenik of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem with the discovery of a limestone slab in the Russian mission containing a four-line Aramaic inscription referring to the burial place of Uzziah. It is the first text ever found referring to a Judean royal tomb. Published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 44, 8.

[17] Even stone-hurling artillery was introduced.

Difficulties loom; Isaiah knows his countrymen. A voice drones the story of a prophet, unheeded, dishonored. From Isaiah's lips bursts the cry "How long, O Lord?" The answer is the eternal prophetic commission—until the task is completed. Even if they never heed, let the final débâcle find the prophet standing upon the ash heaps of national hopes still speaking forth the word of God.

The poet-prophet steps out of his class to fulfill his mission. He knows the path to the palace; he has access to kings, but is *persona non grata* to his kind. His Vineyard Song (Chap. 5) may be the key. In a land of harvest and vintage festivals, Isaiah may well be pictured with companions singing away the hot mid-day hours. He describes a fruitless vineyard which, after great care, produces nothing but inferior grapes. It is a poor investment; he will abandon it. As the Bethel revelers nodded assent to Amos, so Isaiah's companions approve his song. It is an astute point of contact. Suddenly the mood changes, and in a crescendo of feeling Isaiah accuses Judah of being a fruitless vineyard of Yahweh. Yahweh has blessed, but Judah has squandered.[18]

The Problem.—The problems of Isaiah show clearly in an analysis of the book. Four distinct periods are represented: 738 B.C. and the death of Uzziah; 734 B.C., the Damascene crisis; 711 B.C. to 700 B.C., when Babylon was fomenting rebellion; and 690 B.C., Sennacherib's invasion.

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[18] At this point there is another typical play upon words. *ṣedaqah* means "redress"; *ṣe'aqah* is a cry of distress. God looked for *ṣedaqah* but only found *ṣe'aqah*, *i.e.*, He looked for redress (of wrongs) but found only distress (of the people). Suggested by Kent, *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 109, note.

In the first period, the old socio-economic problems of Amos and Hosea are uppermost. The nobles are still accumulating real estate, creating an agricultural serfdom (Isa. 5:8). Drunkenness is widespread (Isa. 5:11-14 and 22). Corrupt judges and shyster scribes prey upon widows and orphans (Isa. 10:1-2). The women are vain and selfish (Isa. 3:16-24).[19] Inexperienced youth rules the palace, influenced by the inevitable harem intrigues (Isa. 3:12).[20]

The Solution.—In this first period, two suggestions appear. The first and obvious one is that Judah turn over a new leaf. Yahweh's anger is not turned away; his avenging arm is outstretched still. A second solution to the problem might be an international cataclysm that would bring Aramea, Israel, Philistia, and Assyria into the mêlée. It might kill the patient, but it would suppress the disease!

Isa. 9:8-21; 10:3-4; 5:26-29 and 5:25. These sections should be read in order as a unit. The section in chapter five was evidently misplaced centuries ago. There is a regular strophic structure and progression throughout, dominated by the recurrent refrain concerning Yahweh's anger and outstretched arm. Here is one of the few references of Isaiah to the northern kingdom, which he calls "Ephraim" as did Hosea.

WHAT TURNED ISAIAH STATESMAN?

Isaiah, 2d period, ca. 734 B.C.

Historical Situation.—Tiglath-pileser IV vigorously prosecuted his western campaigns. His palace walls were adorned with inscriptions recording the details, though Esarhaddon later chiselled many of them away to make room for his own exploits.[21] The tribute of Azariah of Yaudi (Uzziah of Judah?),[22] Menahem of Samaria, and subjection of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Damascus, Hamath, and others parallels biblical narratives (cf. 2 Kgs. 14:16). The ominous shadow of the vampire darkened Palestine.

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[19] Part of this passage is thought by many scholars to be a later addition. Vs. 18 begins with the tell-tale formula of the later editors, "in that day Yahweh will, *etc.*" The list of women's garments is a valuable commentary on customs.

[20] This might refer to Jotham or Ahaz, twenty-five and twenty years of age respectively upon accession. Uzziah was but sixteen upon accession, but displayed great energy and ability from the beginning. Isaiah realized that he was now dealing with another type of youth.

In desperate fear, Damascus allied with her former enemy, Samaria, as part of a Palestinian coalition against Assyria. Feeling the need of reinforcement, the allies attempted to force Judah into the plan. According to 2 Chron. 28:5-7, Pekah and Rezin actually raided Judah, besieging Gibeah and killing Ahaz' brother, treasurer and prime minister.[23] Certainly Ahaz faced an international crisis that demanded statesmanship. Should he join, resist, or play politics with Assyria, and buy her protection? If he once leagued with Assyria, could he ever shake off the vampire?

The Man.—In this period Isaiah steps forth as statesman, internationalist, and royal adviser,—without portfolio! In the midst of agitation, his noble intellectualism finds calm and trust in the certainty of Yahweh's power.

Problem and Solution.—The problem lay in the political crisis. The solution was to be found in trust and in minding one's own affairs. Obviously, Assyrian alliance was *not* a solution.

High Lights.—Isa. 17:1-3, Isaiah sees the inevitable triumph of Tiglath-pileser. Damascus has been a buffer state. When she goes, the way is open to Samaria. When Samaria falls, Judah is in line. If Ahaz angers Assyria, or mixes into the affair, ruin will follow. Soon Damascus will go; Ephraim will lose her front line of defence; the plotters will face Assyrian vengeance.

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[21] His death probably stopped the vandalism, leaving valuable fragments extant for the modern archaeologist.

[22] It is now known that there was a kingdom of Yaudi in northern Palestine. Some have even considered it a second Judah, suppressed in the biblical narratives because of the exaltation of the familiar southern Judah. There is no evidence yet, however, that the far northern Yaudi was Hebraic. See Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria;* Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth.*

[23] Excavations at the site have revealed a stratum containing weapons, skulls, and evidences of fire. See Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* IV, 53. It should be noted that the writer of Chronicles, an admittedly late composition, insists that all of this happened because of Ahaz's idolatry, including the fire ritual in the Hinnom valley, where children were sacrificed. Micah, a contemporary of Isaiah, mentions this practice. A half century later it became common, and prophetic activity was suppressed. *Cf.* Lods, *Israel;* Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine.*

17:12. The rumble of distant Assyrian invasion.

7:1-6. The threat of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel against Judah. Ahaz is inspecting the water supply preparatory to siege. Isaiah meets him at the aqueduct, and advises calm courage. Rezin and Pekah are burned out torches soon to be extinguished.

7:7-9. The Damascene intrigue will fail, for the two kings together are but half a king, mere petty politicians playing a puny game against Assyria. “If you will hold fast, you will stand fast,” i.e. trust Yahweh, mind your own affairs, keep out of entangling alliances, and national integrity will be guaranteed.

7:10-17. Ahaz develops a sudden piety that forbids testing Yahweh’s power. It is customary to give new-born infants a symbolic name. An expected birth at the palace is to be the occasion for such an event. If a prince, the name will be Immanuel, “God with us.” With biting sarcasm Isaiah declares that the young woman[24] shall bear a son, that he will be named “God with us,” but the name will be a travesty upon the actual events if Ahaz plays the political game. In fact, before the child can grow to the age of responsibility, the food of refugees will he eat. Yahweh will call the numberless insects (the Assyrian host) that will settle like a plague upon the land.

17:18-19. Assyria, the razor from beyond the Tigris, will shave Judah like a convict.

17:20. If Ahaz loses faith, “God with us” can become a grim jest.

8:5-8. To curry favor with Assyria is to drink stolen waters from foreign springs. The soft flowing waters of Siloam[25] are better than the turbid Tigris (Assyria). If they lose faith, the waters of the great river Euphrates (though Assyria was really on the Tigris) will overflow Palestine,[26] and engulf the land of Prince Immanuel. In other words, sarcastically Isaiah challenges Ahaz to go ahead and name the expected prince "God with us," but God will not be with him. A false policy and distrust will bring the Assyrian flood; "it shall engulf thy precious land, O 'God with us!'" It is the very acme of scorching sarcasm.[27]

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[24] The Hebrew here is *ha ʻalmah,* written with the definite article, hence a known woman. *ʻAlmah* does not necessarily mean “virgin” but a young woman of marriageable age, married or not. The root signifies maturity, and means “youth” in Sabaean dialect, “girl” in Phoenician, “slave” and “harlot” in Palmyran, “young woman” in the Syriac and Aramaic. In most cases where “virgin” is intended, the Hebrew word is *bethûlah.*

28:1. A very unusual reference to conditions in the northern kingdom. It parallels Amos and Hosea.

28:3. The Assyrian advance can be an instrument in divine hands to bring retribution upon Israel.

8:19. Evidently there is some basis for the Chronicler's view of Ahaz' reign. Instead of the sturdy Yahweh faith, foreign superstitions and spiritism have crept in.

8:1-3. Appealing to the dramatic instinct, Isaiah takes a large clay tablet and inscribes it in the popular alphabet,[28] *Maher-shalal-ḫash-baz,* "Soon there's booty, soon there's loot!"[29] Curiosity and talk about Isaiah's billboard has scarcely died out when his son is born, and in true oriental style he gives him a symbolic name, the same as written upon the tablet. The boy becomes a living, walking warning that soon Assyria will despoil Damascus and Samaria.

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[25] Jerusalem's local water supply. A striking figure if Ahaz was inspecting the conduit.

[26] Here is a clear illustration of the dangers of literalism. Certainly Isaiah has no notion that the waters of the Euphrates are going to back up, cross several hundred miles of desert and mountain, and inundate Palestine.

[27] Isa. 8:8 and 7:14 must be read together. Unfortunately, many sincere commentators have forced Isa. 7:14 into a theological mould and New Testament implication which Isaiah never dreamed of, at the same time ignoring the obvious reference to the Immanuel figure in 8:8. In its proper setting, it is a striking figure and a powerful plea for faith in a time of great crisis.

[28] The idea of writing upon clay tablets was, of course, Babylonian, but Isaiah evidently did not use the cuneiform but the current Semitic alphabet. The Gezer Calendar stone, with its crude notations of the various months, and a piece of Middle Bronze Age pottery containing part of a name. "Ben-Y . . . ," show that writing in Palestine was not confined to a priestly or scribal caste. See *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society,* X, 1930, 17 and 79 ff.

[29] Literally, "quickly booty, speedily prey." The idea is equivalent to the vulgar "It won't be long now!"

WHAT BECAME OF THE TEN TRIBES?

The Northern Debacle.—In 735 B.C. Tiglath-pileser moved to crush the northern revolt. In characteristic style his inscription[30] states that "captains alive my hands captured and on stakes I impaled them and exhibited them . . . 16 districts of Damascus like a deluge heap I destroyed." Rezin was caged within his city while its beautiful orchards and gardens were devastated. The siege dragged on until 732 B.C., when Damascus finally succumbed. Thus was Isaiah's inspired statesmanship vindicated.[31]

At the same time, according to his inscription, Tiglath-pileser settled the score with Pekah, overrunning Israel. The east Jordan country, a bagatelle from the days of Omri and Ahab, was converted into three Assyrian provinces. Beerah, sheik of Reuben, was captured;[32] Naphthali was reduced; and Megiddo made the administrative headquarters.

Local Politics.—In the midst of this trouble, Pekah lost his life at the hand of Hoshea, a conspirator with Assyrian backing.[33] It cost Hoshea ten talents of gold and the deportation of hundreds of Israelites.[34] Ahaz, contrary to Isaiah's advice, had probably allied with the Assyrians, so Tiglath-pileser marched south to check a possible Philistine attack on Judah. The king of Ashkelon having been caught in a fire, his son soon treated with Assyria. Gaza, Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Judah paid tribute. It cost money but was cheaper than war.

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[30] Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from the Assyrian Monuments.* See Barton, *op. cit.,* and Rogers, *op. cit.*

[31] During the siege, Panammu, an Assyrian vassal, king of the northern Yaudi, died in the Assyrian camp and received burial with military honors. It was while Tiglath-pileser was receiving tribute at Damascus that Ahaz of Judah came all the way from Jerusalem to pay homage, and either to flatter the Assyrian king or because of his own pagan leanings, sent a design of a fancy Damascene altar to be copied and set up in the temple at Jerusalem (2 Kgs. 16:10 ff.). See Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 452, for details.

[32] 1 Chron. 5:6. Olmstead, *op. cit.,* 453, remarks that this is the last reference to an independent tribe of Reuben.

[33] Tiglath-pileser IV claims that he installed Hoshea; see Barton, *op. cit.,* 436 and Rogers, *op. cit.,* 321.

[34] Following the usual Assyrian custom of preventing revolt by exchanging populations. This deportation broke home ties and removed possible leaders. Damascus had been thus treated.

Tiglath-pileser died, and was followed by Shalmaneser (V), who had to take up the problem of the Tyrian revolt. The Phoenician city held out for five years. This gave Hoshea his chance. After paying tribute at first, he defaulted and plotted alliance with Egypt. It was the old, old problem of international intrigue so often the object of prophetic wrath. Shalmaneser bottled up Hoshea in Samaria, and a horrible three year siege ensued. According to the inscription of Sargon II,[35] who usurped Shalmaneser's throne, he finished the task and Samaria fell in 722 B.C. Again Isaiah was vindicated.

The Lost Tribes.—27,290 captives were deported to Assyria, to be eventually absorbed. The homeland was left devoid of leadership. Assyrian letters mention these Samaritan exiles, and contain Hebrew names compounded with *iah,* short form of Yahweh.[36] Sargon says he rebuilt Samaria, and boasts of the improvement. Excavations show that he robbed Ahab's magnificent palace for building blocks, but much of the new construction was mud and rubble. The governor had only a three-room dwelling![37] Assyrian cuneiform tablets and Hebrew seals testify to the mixed Hebrao-Assyrian colony. 2 Kgs. 17:24 ff. indicates that a polyglot population settled devastated Samaria, each with its own local god. Yahweh was but one among many gods. Samaria was headed for a mongrel population,[38] and a mongrel faith which later Jews would despise, ostracise, and denounce for centuries.

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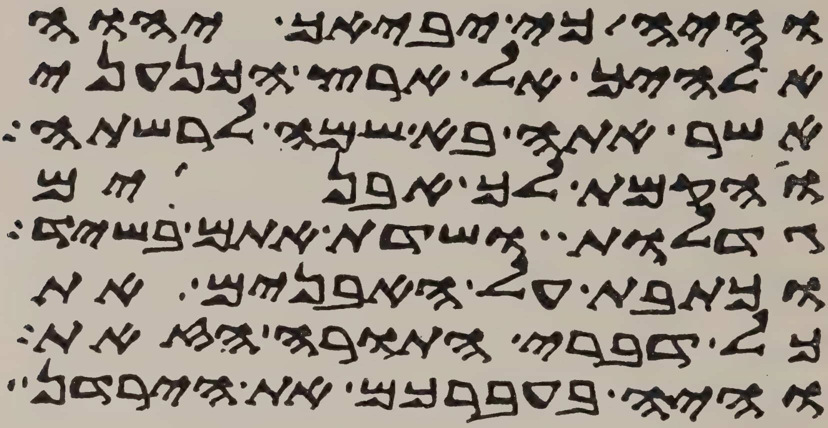
[35] Barton, *op. cit.,* 427; Rogers, *op. cit.,* 331-332.

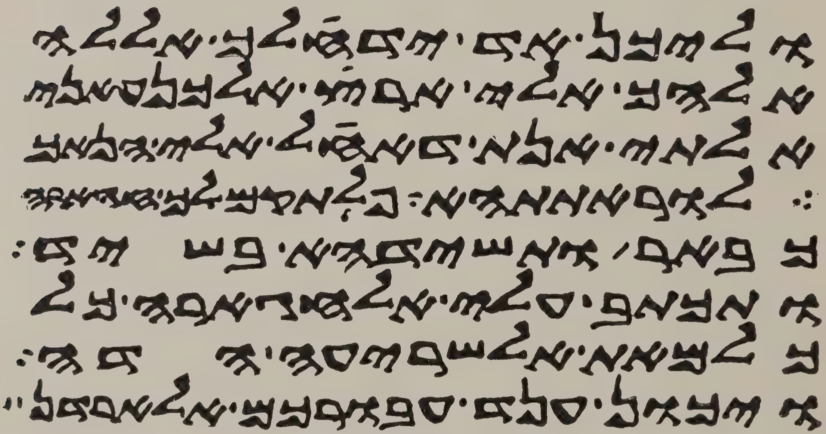
[36] Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire,* I, 330 ff. and 440 ff.

[37] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 461.

[38] This Samaritan situation led to the Samaritan schism to be discussed later. The schism has continued to the present day. Less than 200 Samaritans still celebrate their own holidays, possess their own copy of the Pentateuch, though there is now a movement on foot to bring Jew and Samaritan together. See Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth,* a brilliant and encyclopedic discussion of the broken ethnic continuity of the Hebrew. On the modern Samaritan rites, see *National Geographic,* "The Last Blood Sacrifice, a Samaritan Rite in Palestine," Whiting, January, 1920.



Part of the 20th Chapter of Exodus (Samaritan).



(Arabic in Samaritan Characters.)

FACSIMILE OF SAMARITAN MANUSCRIPT, ABOUT 1219.
NOW IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

The MS. is bilingual, the first column being written in Samaritan, the second in Arabic with Samaritan characters.

WAS ISAIAH ALONE?

Micah

Historical Situation.—Ahaz had curried favor with Assyria in defiance of Isaiah and the Yahweh faith. His son was not named Immanual after all, for Ahaz' escape from the Damascene crisis called for a different symbolic name, Hezekiah, "God Strengtheneth." Assyria's affairs were not going well, enabling Hezekiah, a youth of twenty-five years, vigorous, with strong religious tendencies leaning somewhat toward the Prophetic party, to inaugurate a reign that stands out as one of the most important in Hebrew history.

Micah and His Problem.—Early in this reign, before conditions could improve, a countryman came to town. In the market places of Jerusalem, he lifted his voice in protest against vile economic and social conditions. As a countryman he saw the evils in the big city. Here was concentrated wealth and power, crushing out the free land holder. Here were the leaders, the courts, the financial centers, and the politicians who shaped national policies.

Assyrian and Canaanite influences had corrupted religion; gaudy festivals and infant sacrifice were common. Yahwehism and the good old Hebrew virtues were obscured by a sophisticated paganism, shot through with unspeakable greed and superstition. The city was dangerous because it could wield such deadly power (cf. Mic. 1:5 and 6:9).

Clever But Effective.—The subtlety of Hebrew play upon words is no better illustrated than in Micah's point of contact with the bazaar crowds. He builds his message around the local village names. Gath and the verb "to tell"; Bochim, Hebrew for "tears"; Beth-le-'Aphrah, "Dust-town"; Shaphir, "Fairview"; Zaanan, "Meekton"; etc. The Assyrian is coming; the nation is crumbling! "In

Gath, tell it not,[39] (you dare not tell the Philistines); in Bochim[40] you will weep *bôchîm* (tears), (wailing over misfortune); in Beth-le-ʿAphrah you will roll in the *aphrah* (dust) (like striken brutes when the Assyrian butcher comes); belles of Shaphir, go on over them,[41] (to your Assyrian soldiers); people of Meekton, you dare not peep out!"[42] Micah's hearers can never forget the sermon; all they need to do is recall the itinerary of a camel train!

The Solution.—Micah's solution to his problem is a literary classic, quoted far and wide (Mic. 6:8). Practically he sees hope only in an honest judiciary, an intelligent priesthood, a sincere prophetic party, a considerate nobility, and good business ethics. Religion must be re-focused, with interest placed upon basic virtues and right living rather than wild cult practices.

High Lights.—Mic. 1:5. The balance between Jacob and Judah in the first part of the verse demands a similar balance between the capitals in the second part. The Hebrew text varies from other versions and is corrupt. Micah indicts the two Hebrew capitals:

> "What of the sin[43] of Jacob? Samaria!
> What of the sin of Judah? Jerusalem!"

1:6-7. Further description of how Samaria sinned and fell.

1:12. The first word, *kî*, "for" is probably confused with *kôh*, "how," "how the people of Maroth wait for prosperity!" In late Hebrew the two words look quite distinct, כי

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[39] The verb, *taggîdû*, to a Hebrew ear connected directly with the town name. "In Gath, gath it not."

[40] This may refer to Akko. Hebrew *be* means "in," hence "in Akko." The Septuagint reads *hoi en Akeim*, "those in Akko." The Syro-Hexaplar reads *en Bakeîm*, "in Bochim." The text is uncertain, but well illustrates the point.

[41] A striking Hebrew line. The verb, *ʿiberî*, means "cross over." It is imperative: *ʿiberî lâkem*, "go on over to them!" *ʿIberî lâkem šaphir*, as though in the language of the market place Micah had challenged the beauties of Fairview to go on over to their Assyrian generals and tycoons—"Go on over to them, Beautiful, stripped like a harlot!" In that ancient world there would undoubtedly be women in a captured town who would consider themselves fortunate to be inducted into the harem of a high official.

[42] The root word back of Zanaan applies to small animals, the timorous sheep and small cattle of Palestine. The timorous people of Meekton dare not peep out of their gates.

[43] Two words are used synonymously, but the one applied to Samaria, *peshaʿ*, suggests rebellion. Samaria's rebellion against Yahweh and the Pekah and Hoshea revolts against Assyria made the word especially significant on Micah's lips.

and כה , but in the alphabet of Micah's time a scribe could easily confuse the letter *he* of *kôh* with the letter *yod* of *kî*, writing for , "for" instead of "how." Here is an error made while the old alphabet of Micah's time was still in use. This argues for a very ancient manuscript back of the Bible (there were probably many such) that may have actually come from prophetic hands.

2:1. Oppressors and grafters lie awake nights figuring new ways to confiscate property, thus to ruin the free classes.

2:6, 7 and 11. Must be read in this order. Greed attempts to silence reform, charging that religion must not mix in business and politics. If the erstwhile leader pleases the crowd, then he is acclaimed.

6:7. Reflects the popular theology, i.e. "we are Yahweh's people; the old covenant exists; who says an impatient God will destroy us?"

2:8-9. Like common thieves hiding in a dark archway and ripping the valuable cloak from a passing citizen, the ruling class robs women and orphans. The high official is a common criminal.

3:1, 9, 11. An indictment of corrupt judiciary, priests, prophets, and officials. It is the duty of a judge to be intelligent, to know the right, and to decide honestly. The false popular theology makes them all think that Yahweh is with them.[44]

7:2-3. Judah lacks leadership. The officer grafts; the high official perverts justice.

6:9-11. A startling picture of the market place, with its chicanery. False weights and scales cheat the people.[45] Vs. 9 is the cry of a way-side agitator directing his invective against the big city.

6:6-8. First a picture of the festival and its rites, including the Canaanite infant sacrifice cults, followed by the famous definition of religion incarnate—to do justly, love kindness, and be willing to walk humbly with God. Justice, kindness, and teachableness will transform and save the human race. It is a big program in few words; it grows out of the heart of a man who knows the blind cruelty and selfishness of exploitation.

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[44] Such a religion is called henotheism, or exaltation of one god among many, who is the tribal or national god. To the henotheist the god and the tribe are inseparable, regardless of conduct. Hebrew prophetism was swinging out far beyond such childish concepts.

[45] Weights with the same label but varying in weight have been found, mute testimony to a lack of standards and honesty. See Macalister, *Gezer,* II, 291.

CAN A PROPHET GET RESULTS?

Hezekiah's Reform.—Micah is the only prophet quoted by name in the writings of another (Jer. 26:18). His preaching had power and effect. Hezekiah began to see the light, and a reform movement began which swept away Assyrian altars, Canaanite high places, sacred pillars,—even the ancient bronze serpent fetish, Nehushtan,[46] supposedly cast by Moses to ward off the deadly fear of death from snake bite which had been demoralizing his excitable and childish followers.

The ancient feast of the passover, which in some simple form probably had commemorated the flight from Egypt was elaborated by Canaanite spring festival elements, but was so bound up with the Yahweh worship that it was to become one of the distinctive marks of Judaism. Even the northern remnants were invited to join Judahites in the celebration. Some think that this whole movement tended to bring into the south the great northern cycles of Hebrew lore,[47] to be eventually incorporated with the southern cycles[48] into the blended narrative now found in the Bible.[49]

Broken bits of jar handles, stamped with the official insignia and labelled "for the king" indicate a thorough organization of national finances, with allotments of oil, wine and grain for the royal storehouses.[50]

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[46] See page 97 and notes.

[47] The so-called "E" stratum. *Cf.* Eiselen, Driver, Kent and Trattner, *op. cit.*

[48] The so-called "J" stratum.

[49] The so-called "JE."

[50] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 465.

Isaiah, 3d Period

A New World Power.—About 711 B.C., Ashdod of Philistia rebelled against Sargon of Assyria, who sent his *turtânu* officer (Tartan Isa. 20) with an army to settle the question.[51] Shabako, Ethiopian founder of the XXV dynasty in Egypt, was stirring the Palestinian states. Far in the east, Merodach-baladan of Babylon plotted a *coup* against Assyria which would make him king of a world-wide Babylonian empire. To promote this intrigue an embassy was sent to Hezekiah on pretense of condolence for his illness. Hezekiah took the visitors on a sight-seeing tour, proudly showing his city and the treasury. He had already flirted with Egypt, thanks to Shebna, leader of the pro-Egyptian party.[52] Assyria was not having an easy time; Egypt's Theban dynasty craved power; Palestine was a jumble of races and petty states. It was a pit into which even a good king might fall; it was an international fog that only an inspired prophetic mind could pierce.

Isaiah, Leader of the Opposition.—The Isaiah of this period is a statesman and fearless critic. His problem is international intrigue and sane national policy. His solution is the same offered in 734 B.C., calm, fearless trust in Yahweh and national honesty.

High Lights.—Isa. 20:1. The Assyrian attack upon Ashdod and the Palestinian rebels. The *turtânu* was either the ranking officer of an expedition or the business agent, as he received treasury vouchers for supplies.[53]

20:2-6. A dramatic warning to Hezekiah not to join the rebels against Assyria, for already Egypt and Ethiopia are doomed to sackcloth and deportation.[54]

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[51] A tablet in the University of Southern California collection reads: *2⅓ mana 3½ šiqlê ḫurâṣi ša amêl tur-ta-nu, etc.*, "2⅓ mina 3½ shekels of gold for the Tartan."

[52] He was probably a foreigner himself, as the name is not typically Hebrew. Sargon's annals indicate that Judah was involved in Egyptian intrigue. See Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 430; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*.

[53] Such an order on the treasury for gold and wool has been found on a tablet published by the author in the *Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences*, May 1933. See note 51.

[54] The Tartan's force was small, taken from Sargon's bodyguard, so Hezekiah

39:1-8. The Babylonian embassy and its reception. Isaiah encourages Hezekiah's expansive pride until he gets the whole story from the king's own lips; then he rebukes him for advertising Judah's cash reserves to the scheming Babylonians. Hezekiah is laying foundations for future trouble by encouraging intrigue.

28:10-11. Untranslatable jargon, and verse 11 indicates that it was intended to be such. Isaiah is ridiculed in senseless Hebrew syllables *ṣaw la ṣaw, ṣaw la ṣaw, qaw la qaw, qaw la qaw.*[55] He replies, "So be it! In my wah-wah-wah as you call it, Yahweh speaks to you!"

28:15. Reference to the Egyptian treaty, sarcastically charging that the government has made a fine treaty with death and the underworld.

29:15; 30:1. As above, the treaty with Shabako.

28:16. The great solution, in line with the policy of 734 B.C. Then he had advised calm courage and faith. Now again, he reiterates his one and only international policy —right in Zion is a staunch cornerstone of a great national structure, i.e. "he that believes (in Yahweh and His care) will not be moved."[56] It is the triumphant plea of an internationalist and peace advocate who places God above armies and counsels.

WAS ISAIAH RIGHT?

Isaiah, 4th Period

The Sennacherib Invasion.—The supreme test of Isaiah's policy, religious and political, came in connection

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escaped attack as Jerusalem was a major fortress. At the same time Egypt, not quite ready to face Assyria openly, curried favor by sending back to the Tartan the refugee king of Ashdod, Iamani, who was a Cyprian, the first Greek to be mentioned in the Old Testament. Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 469.

[55] At least *saw* is uncertain, while *qaw* is possibly intelligible. See Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon.*

[56] The punctuation after "foundation" should be a colon. What follows is in apposition; it is the cornerstone. The belief referred to is not belief in some creed, or the Bible, but in Yahweh's ability to protect his people better than international intrigue. The last phrase in the Greek Bible is "he who believes shall not be ashamed"; the Hebrew reads "shall not make haste," (*i.e.*, to run away). After all, the idea is much the same. Who believes in Yahweh will not be ashamed, hence will not run away, hence will not be moved.

with the final western campaign of Sennacherib, probably about 690 B.C. The biblical part of the story is not long, though the full account of Sennacherib's doings in this final decade is quite extensive.[57] Fortunately, the biblical account is supplemented by two other sources, Herodotus[58] and Sennacherib's own annals on a hexagonal prism.[59] Briefly, Sennacherib had stamped out the Merodach-baladan intrigue into which Hezekiah was almost drawn. The northwest provinces had demanded further attention.[60] Tyre was reduced, and Itto-baal placed upon the throne. Assyria was reaching out to the Mediterranean, and Phoenician and Cyprian shipwrights built him a navy for use against the Elamites along the Persian gulf. South Palestine and Egypt remained to be subdued, and Isaiah's description of the Assyrian advance in chapter ten shows that he expected the Assyrians to march southward via the ridge road that pierced the highlands of Palestine.[61]

Sennacherib, however, marched through the plain of Sharon and along the sea-level route toward Philistia and Egypt. An Egyptian contingent under Tirhaka or Taharka, a cousin of Shabako, being defeated, the Assyrian army pressed on. It was bad policy to leave the strongest fortress of the ancient world free to execute a flank attack, so Sennacherib sent a division under the Rab-Šâqî[62] to bottle up Jerusalem while the main army advanced to the borders of Egypt.

Defense Measures.—Hezekiah, at the time holding captive Padi of Ekron,[63] Sennacherib's vassal, had prepared for trouble. He rebuilt the ancient Davidic ramparts at

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[57] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, Chap. XXXI; *History of Assyria*.

[58] The Greek Historian; Herodotus, ii, 141; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 346.

[59] *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, British Museum, 225; also see Rogers; Barton; and Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4th auf. 54 ff.

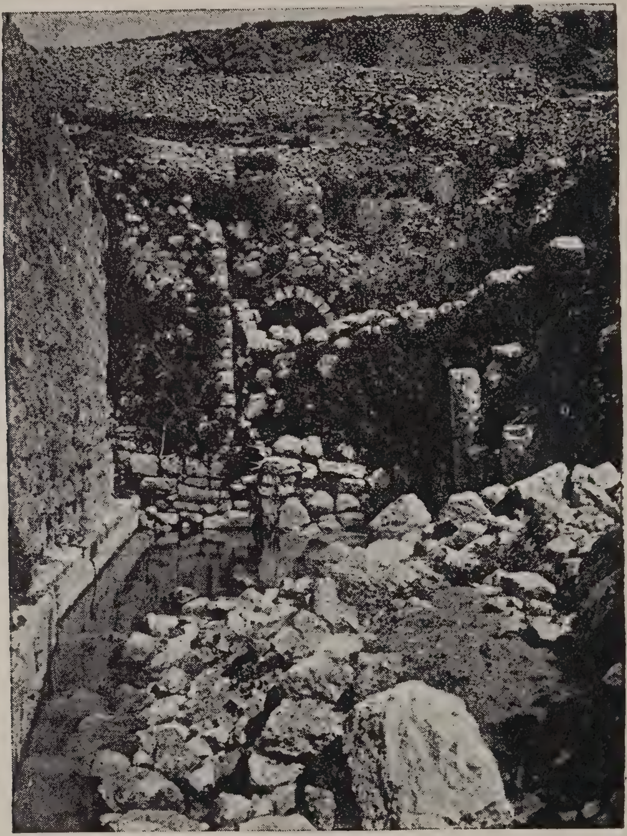
[60] On these activities and the siege of Tyre, see Olmstead, *op. cit.*

[61] Note the place names, Ai, Migron, Michmash, Geba, Ramah, and Zion's hill. See map, Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, 396.

[62] An Assyrian officer. *Rab* means "great" and the verb *šaqû* means "to give drink." The "chief cup-bearer" would seem to be intended. There is an Assyrian verb *šaqû* which means "to be high, lofty, grand," and the *Rab-šâqî* would be the high commander. He was an officer under the Turtânu. (Streck, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xiii, 61, rm. 2.)

[63] Taylor Cylinder, Col. III, 1. 7-11; Nelson's *Condensed Biblical Encyclopedia*, 69.

Millo, and added an outer defence.[64] The water supply was naturally a serious problem. By stopping up the springs so that the enemy could not use them, and cutting a 1700-foot tunnel through the rock, Hezekiah brought fresh water inside the walls. An unnamed workman gave to the world one of its most famous inscriptions when he scratched



Pool of Siloam.
(*From a Photograph by* Mason Good.)

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[64] This wall was plastered and had a core of rock and earth filling. However, the work must have been hurried, for excavation shows that it was not run down to bed rock but rested upon the top soil. Macalister and Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel*, 65 ff. and 87; also Bliss and Dickie. *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 96-109.

upon the tunnel wall a brief account of the digging, written in the language and alphabet of the ancient Hebrew.[65]

The customary banter between besiegers and defenders took place, the Rab-Šâqî deriding trust in Yahweh and also in the Egyptian alliance. In the latter he was right and Isaiah would have agreed with him, but in response to the former Isaiah composed his famous taunt song picturing Zion like a scornful maiden deriding a suitor (Isa. 37: 22-29).

Thanks to the pointed preaching of Micah, and possibly the sage counsels of Isaiah, Hezekiah had made a notable attempt to reform the nation (2 Kgs. 18:4 ff.). Whether it was this, or the certainty that Assyria's ruthless militarism was an affront to God's eternal order, Isaiah was convinced that the Assyrian would never capture Jerusalem. While Hezekiah and the people trembled, Isaiah issued a proclamation of calm assurance. The biblical narrative preserves the basic elements of the episode, even though it has had later popular additions:

> Be not afraid;—the king of Assyria shall not come into this city;—I will put a spirit upon him;—he shall hear tidings;—he shall return by the way he came;—that night the Assyrians were smitten;—Sennacherib went away.

Here was Isaiah's old doctrine of trust in Yahweh, but now it was face to face with hard material facts—the finest military machine in the ancient world. Could spiritual power meet armed force? There is only one answer; it did! Whatever may be the explanation, Jerusalem was not captured and Assyrian power was broken. Isaiah was vindicated!

Witnesses and Affidavits.—Probably the episode is quite understandable, for here is one of the most unusual cases in history where unrelated witnesses correlate. From three sources, Greek, Hebrew, and Assyrian, the story can be reconstructed. Herodotus says that as the Assyrian army encamped on the Egyptian border, a plague of rodents infested the camp.[66] Sennacherib's prism recounts his advance, capture of forty-six towns, caging of Hezekiah "like a bird" in Jerusalem, and the siege; but Sennacherib never says that he took the city. By what he does not say, he corroborates what the Bible does say, i.e. that Jerusalem was spared! Furthermore, he lamely states that later they sent ambassadors after him with the tribute, a quite un-

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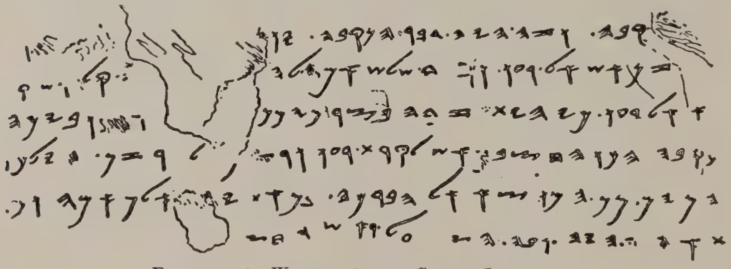
[65] The Siloam inscription, found in 1880 on the right wall about nineteen feet from the Siloam end. See Cooke, *A Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 17 ff.; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 437 and Fig. 297; also any standard Biblical encyclopedia.

The Siloam Inscription.

(*From a Photograph of an Impression traced in* 1881, *showing the Hebrew character. About* 700 B.C.)

The inscription, which was cut on the wall of the conduit which fed the Pool of Siloam, states that the excavators began to work at the ends and met in the middle of the tunnel. When as yet the two bodies of miners were separated by a distance of three cubits, they heard each other's voices; they hewed away "pickaxe against pickaxe," and the waters flowed from the spring to the pool, a distance of one thousand two hundred cubits (2 Kings 20. 20; 2 Chr. 32. 30). It was discovered by a boy wading in the conduit in 1880.



Facsimile of Writing of the Siloam Inscription.

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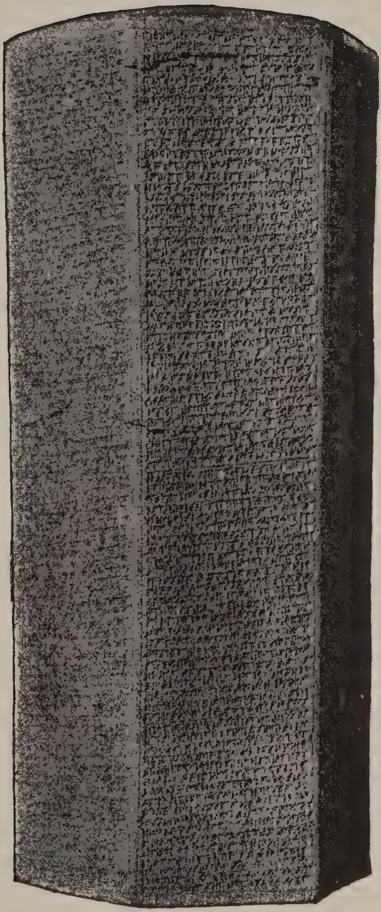
[66] This story may be read in Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible:* Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* 346 ff. The rat and mouse were known to the ancients and were symbols of bubonic plague. Seaports could easily be infested with infected rodents.



Clay Cylinder of Sennacherib.
(*From a Photograph by* Clarke and Davies.)

With a cuneiform account of eight campaigns of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, from 705–681 B.C. Now in the British Museum.

usual proceeding since review of captives and loot was the choice climax of the typical Assyrian victory.[67]

The Bible says that the siege was ended by the *mal'ak Yahweh*, the agent of Yahweh, smiting the Assyrians. A Hebrew mind always saw divine agency[68] in great crises. If the Assyrian army picked up bubonic infection in the seaport towns during its southward march, the simultaneous devastation of two widely separated divisions is easily understood. The three versions of the affair differ enough to guarantee authenticity; and they agree enough to clearly picture the Assyrian debacle.

Summary.—Isaiah, brilliant aristocrat and high-minded statesman, clung to the hardest doctrine in the world—the supremacy of spiritual power over material force. In 734 B.C. he counseled faith; in 711 B.C., and after, he reiterated it; and in 690 B.C., with every back to the wall and every indication of a practical repudiation of his idea, he was vindicated. By His own laws God worked, and Isaiah the prophet was sustained. Small wonder that for centuries an over-zealous Judaism quoted Isaiah on the supremacy, eternality, and inviolability of Zion.[69]

WHAT BECAME OF HEZEKIAH'S REFORM?

The Baalistic Reaction

Baal vs. Yahweh.—Prophetic preaching lapsed between 690 B.C. and 626 B.C. The death of Hezekiah brought a swing of the pendulum of reform. Manasseh was reactionary, baalistic and "practical." Old Canaanite altars were rebuilt, Ishtar posts set up,[70] village incense rituals established. Any religious rite that provided variety and entertainment in hum-drum village life was sure to catch the popular favor. The common people were neither prophets nor theologians! The revolting fire rite demanding sacrifice of infants was instituted in the valley of Hinnom.[71] Manasseh himself is accused of indulging in this all too common Semitic practice.[72] On the roof of the palace of Ahaz astronomical and zodiacal paraphernalia were set up to carry out the Assyrian worship.

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[67] This inscription has caused much discussion. If it recounts the expedition of 701 B.C., then one might think that the forty-six cities were captured and that Hezekiah bought off Sennacherib with the tribute. But why should Sennacherib wait until he was on the way home before receiving it? Or did he receive it at Lachish? On the other hand, if this refers to his final expedition, about 690 B.C., then the prism text is logical, recounting the successes and glossing over the failure of the campaign by vague reference to belated tribute. If Sennacherib was assassinated in 681 B.C., there was sufficient time to permit the composition of this annal and its inscribing upon the clay prism. See *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, British Museum, 3d ed., 224 ff.; *cf.* Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 342 ff.; Rudolph, *Sanherib in Palästina, Palästinajahrbuch*, XXV, 59 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, 409.

[68] On the meaning of *mal'ak* as "agent," rather than late conception of a winged angel, see page 61 and note.

[69] Because Isaiah had preached a message of God's protection over the sacred city, later Judaism saw in this an inspired foretelling of an invulnerable Jerusalem. Several times this led to false hopes and tragedy. Isaiah's idea was intimately bound up with a conception of righteousness. His certainty of Zion's safety was neither geographical nor racial. See Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 398.

According to tradition, the prophetic party was suppressed and Isaiah suffered martyrdom.[73] Politically, Manasseh curried favor with Assyria and could show a long, prosperous reign, marked by combined wealth and vice. Sennacherib's death in 681 B.C. brought Esarhaddon to the throne, who immediately faced the ambitions of his brothers and the turmoil of a revolting Palestine and a revived Egypt under Taharka.[74] In due time Esarhaddon struck at the western provinces and Egypt.[75] There is a tradition that sometime during this wrangle on the western front, Manasseh aroused the king's displeasure and was deported to Assyria to meditate upon his error. Repentant, he was later reinstated and more than ever bound to Assyria, baal and anti-Yahwehism.[76]

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[70] These cult objects, posts or standing stones, were associated with the Assyro-Babylonian goddess. The cult of the standing stones was prehistoric and widespread, but in this period the *'ašerah* (plural *'ašerôth* or *ašerîm*) was primarily an Ishtar symbol or a Canaanite mother-goddess fertility symbol. *Cf.* Lods, *Israel*, 134, *et passim.*

[71] In Hebrew the *gê hinnôm*, later corrupted in Greek to *Ge-henna*. This *gê hinnôm* was later considered as accursed and probably was used as a city dump, where worm and fire worked incessantly to consume the refuse. In the New Testament, *Gehenna* is used in a striking figure of speech concerning those whose spiritual life is so useless that it might as well be cast onto a dump-heap.

[72] Probably this infant burning in honor of the god Moloch or Milku extended even to the Phoenician colonies at Utica and Carthage in north Africa. Prophetic Yahwehism was rabidly opposed to the rite, which may account for the emphasis upon the Abraham story and the charge to spare Isaac. On North African rites see de Prorok, *Digging for Lost African Gods.*

[73] He was supposed to have been sawn asunder. This is referred to in the New Testament, Heb. 11:37; and in the Babylonian Talmud, *Jabmuth*, iv, 13.

[74] This Taharka was a cousin of Shabako, whom he had deposed.

[75] This rather complicated but interesting period of Assyrian history may be followed in Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, XXXII; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 349 ff.

[76] See 2 Chron. 33:11-13; Isa. 7:8; Ezra 4:2.

Escaping the Censors.—With public activity suppressed, the prophets turned to literature. Under Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor, Assyrian culture reached its height. Military campaigns and desperate struggles with the nomads fringing his desert empire are secondary to his real fame. For hundreds of years there had been a circulating Sumerian and Babylonian lore, part of which incorporated ancient stories of creation, flood, demigods, and the usual elaborate mixture of fact and fancy that primitive peoples treasure. Ashurbanipal decided to collect, copy and file in a great library Assyrian versions of the extant literature of the Tigris-Euphrates valley.[77]

That some great catastrophe lies back of the flood story is possible.[78] When the tablets were first discovered, it was assumed that the biblical stories must be borrowings from Babylonia and Assyria.[79] But if the Hebrews originated in the Amurru region, and if the Assyro-Babylonian stock migrated from that point also, then each may have developed his own heritage of a common ancient tradition in his own way.[80] These stories of origins undoubtedly circulated among the Semites for ages. Now, with Assyrian influence strong the Hebrews would naturally ape the polished culture of the pagan power that built libraries, produced literature, fostered art, and showed such wonderful examples of material finesse.

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[77] These Assyrian copies of stories of the creation and the flood may be studied in Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, Chaps. I and V; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, Pt. II, Chaps. I-V; *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, British Museum, 3d Ed., 215 ff.; *The Babylonian Legends of Creation*, British Museum, 1921, and *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, British Museum, 1920; Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Tradition;* Peet, "Comparative Study of the Literature of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia," *Schweich Lectures*, 1929.

[78] The work of Leonard Woolley is especially significant in this connection, as he is convinced that he has identified a sedimentary layer between two strata of culture, indicating pre-diluvian occupation of the site of Ur. On this there have been many news releases in the *London Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1931; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, "Excavations at Ur," Woolley, July, 1928; Woolley, *The Sumerians; Ur of the Chaldees;* Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur;* also *Art and Archaeology*, May, 1928; *Asia*, November, 1927; *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1926; *Scientific American*, May, 1929.

[79] This was an important element in the Pan-Babylonian theory of Hebrew origins. The conflict between conservative and liberal scholars was intensified by the implication that if Moses wrote Genesis he simply took over Babylonian and Sumerian lore. *Cf.* Church, *Israel Saga*, Chap. III.

[80] Of course, as regards the flood, the Sumerian had his version also, but the whole episode may have concerned the river valley from upper Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. (See Clay, *supra*, and *Origin of Biblical Tradition;* Poebel, *Historical Texts*, Philadelphia, 1914; also note Langdon, *Babylonian Story of the Deluge* and *The Epic of Gilgamesh*.) If so, a flood narrative might spring up in different localities. Because the flood *motif* is widespread through many lands, including the American Indian lore, it has been suggested that the original plot grew out of a dim racial memory of conditions on the planet during the melting of the ice at the close of the last glacial age.

The Semitic Renaissance.—To fight fire with fire, the suppressed prophets could write. The popular Assyrian stories were paralleled by Israel's ancient lore. Back in the eighth and ninth centuries some of it had probably been written down.[81] Now Ephraim was but a memory, but the northern stories could be blended with the southern in a sweeping and original *Outline of History* that would make as thrilling a story as anything emanating from sophisticated Nineveh. For the prophet to denounce foreign literature was only to give it publicity; but to offer a better home product, combining power, artistry, and national spirit, was to show an astute understanding of human nature.

WHO INVENTED HISTORY?

The Genesis Narratives

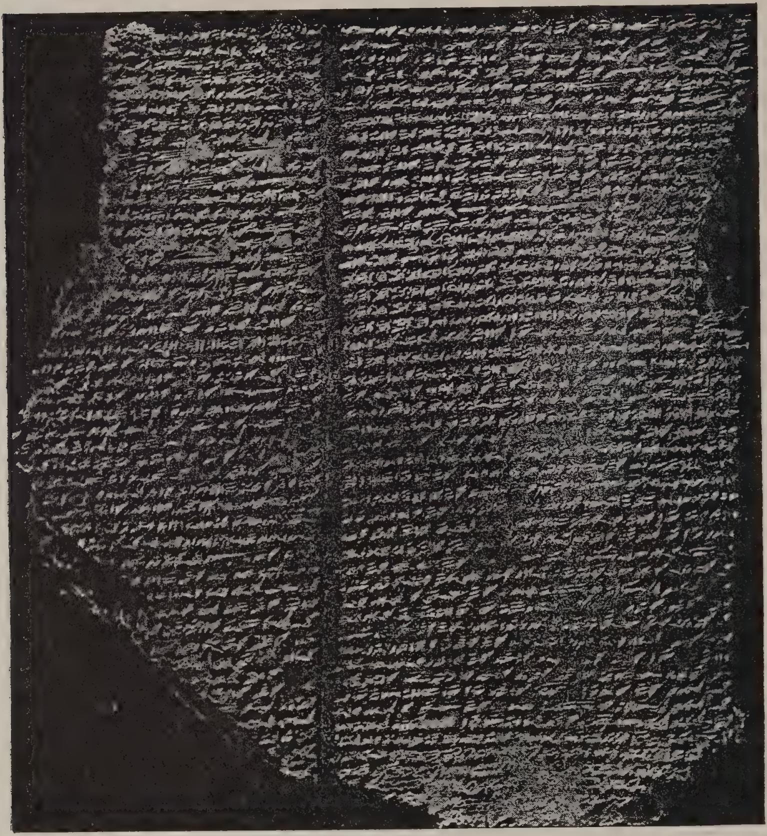
The First Historians.—"The Hebrew invented real history. Of course he writes with a bias, as would any ancient author, unschooled in modern research procedure! The Hebrew historian is writing religion; he is working out a philosophy of history; he is using history as an illustration of certain laws of cause and effect; but the fact still remains that he writes connectedly, voluminously, and with perspective.

"No other group of ancient writers ever attempted to sweep the field from creation to their own time. Other races had creation stories, hero tales, and traditional accounts of kings and conflicts; but no Egyptian papyrus, Babylonian clay, or Graeco-Roman parchment has reached anything like the stupendous project of the Hebrew nar-

[81] Possibly what is now spoken of as the J, Judean or southern version and the E, Ephraimitic or northern version of Israel's lore.

rators. They tell as good a story as any, and produce historical writing in the process."[82]

No one can prove that the prophets did this during the reign of Manasseh, but the theory fits the occasion and helps to explain why the present Bible obviously contains a blended narrative, the JE.[83] The prophetic party was



ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

From the library of Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh (668–626 B.C.). Now in British Museum.

The "Creation Series" and the "Gisdubar or Gilgamish Series" give Babylonian and Assyrian accounts of the Creation, and the Babylonian account of the Flood, in many particulars resembling closely that given in the book of Genesis.

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[82] Quoted from the Author's *The Student Faces Life*, 126-127.

[83] Prof. R. H. Pfeiffer, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. art. "A Non-Israelitic Source of the Book of Genesis," 1930, points out a possible extreme

teaching by the story method, and what stories could be more enthralling or valuable or more suited to teaching great religious truths than the majestic legends of creation, the flood, and the early activities of Israel's ancestors? With a literary outburst in Assyria and a similar activity in Palestine, both of which have come down to us today in the form of museum tablets and the Bible, it can truly be said that this was a Semitic renaissance as significant for later generations as that renaissance which lifted the western world to a new culture level.

Usable Ideas.—If the Genesis narratives are primarily for religious purposes, then they must be read through religious spectacles. Arguments about geology or astronomy are foreign to the very soul of this prophetic literature. Even though mingled with later priestly verbiage, the main outline of the prophetic teaching is quite clear:

"In the beginning, God:"—The prophetic mind sees the world as the product of intelligence and purpose.

"Let there be:"—Call it development, evolution, or miracle, the prophets see creation as an orderly process over a period of time. The length of that time is neither provable nor agreed upon by either scientist or religionist. Neither the ancient Hebrew nor the modern geologist yet has sufficient data to answer the question dogmatically, but both catch the underlying concept of orderly development.

"In His own image:"—Biblically, anthropologically, and psychologically, *homo* is the highest form. His superiority lies in his creative intelligence, his ability to adapt himself, combine new forms, and see intricate relationships far beyond the highest animal. Like God, man is a creative mind in action.[84]

"They shall be one flesh:"—In the fine companionship

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southern cycle of tradition, emanating from the Edomite border. J and E he considers to have been combined about 650 B.C., as indicated above. For popular presentation. see Trattner, *Unravelling the Book of Books.*

[84] The charge of anthropomorphism is scarcely justified. Man's likeness to God does not imply that one is thinking of God as an old man in human form.

of the sexes man and woman[85] reach the highest levels of character.

"And Jehovah planted a garden:"—Centuries before, two Sumerian cities, Umma and Lagash, had fought over the *GU-EDIN*, a fertile river bottom.[86] In a semi-arid country, the ideal habitation would be dreamed of as an *Edin.* The writers were far less concerned with geography than with the concept that it was God's intention to have a beautiful, adjusted world.

"She took of the fruit:"—Not an apple, or a devil, but a wrong choice is the source of sin and sorrow.

So the early lore proceeds, each childlike story complete in itself, incorporating basic concepts. Cain, because of wrong doing, finds himself fearful, debased. Because of his foolish acts, like his parents, he increases toil. Punishment of Cain is not divine revenge, but rehabilitation through hard work and productive effort.[87]

The Noah story is of small profit if only used to secure the measurements of the ark. But deeply imbedded in the narrative is the assumption that only the fit survive. The Babylonian flood story has entertainment elements, but the biblical story has much more. Fitness is not in terms of claw and muscle, but in terms of spiritual values.[88] Survival of the fittest is a biblical concept. Genesis 10 and 11 have but secondary value for the ethnologist, but the essential brotherhood of the race underlies the whole genealogy.

Summary.—Whatever may be the differences of opinion about Genesis, reading it through literary and prophetic spectacles brings into focus some of the finest literature and most far reaching ideals that man has penned. It is in-breathed (inspirato) with eternal truth. It inspires higher thinking. The materials and form may be kindergarten, but the implications sweep the stars.[89]

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[85] The Hebrew word for woman is *'iššâh*, merely a feminine form of *'iš*, a man. The love of play upon words is shown in the Hebrew statement that "she shall be called *'iššâh* because from *'iš* she came." The English translation makes little sense. The pun is intensified by the fact that in Hebrew the letter corresponding to the English *h* when appended to a word often has a directional force.

[86] Much of the story and the text of the treaty may be read in English translation in Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, 63 ff. It is possible that the term "Eden" is derived from this old Sumerian term. It is not to be assumed that the *GU-EDIN* was any Biblical Eden. See also Baikie, *Life of the Ancient East*, Chap. VII.

[87] A whole new system of criminal procedure could be built upon this principle.

[88] The writers do not attempt to expurgate Noah's character. Measured by modern ethics, his fitness might be questioned. The prophets took the ancient tradition as they found it, and it was not the intention to portray a perfect man, but to propagate an idea.

WHAT BECAME OF MANASSEH'S REACTION?

The Yahweh Revival

Beginnings of Reform.—Again the pendulum swung. Manasseh was followed by son Amon, Hebrew prince with a pure Egyptian name, symbol of Manasseh's foreign leanings. Two years this youth reigned, and at twenty-four his blood stained the daggers of his own officers. A boy, Josiah, eight years old came to the throne (ca. 638 B.C.)!

The early part of Josiah's reign marked little change, but there must have been strong influences at work. At sixteen he turned definitely Yahwehist; at twenty he began cleaning up the moral wreckage of his predecessors (2 Chron. 34:3 ff.); at twenty-six he began to make history. Two events helped bring in the new day.

The Scythian Invasion.—From the north a horde of hard riding, hard fighting raiders pressed in upon the Semitic world.[90] Assyria was sinking. Her armies were never to march in Palestine again, and soon there was to be nothing left but a heap of debris covering the precious Ashurbanipal library for later generations. The Scythian threat came as a fitting climax to Manasseh's evil reign, and two prophets saw it as God's warning of judgment. The impact of the Scythian advance was a prelude to destruction.

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[89] It must not be thought that only the Genesis narratives were compiled at this time. There is JE material in other books of the Pentateuch, especially Exodus and Numbers; and Deuteronomy may have been taking form. Genesis has been used as a clear example of what was going on, and because it is so subject to misunderstanding.

[90] Just who the Scythians were and whence they came is still a matter of some dispute. See Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth*, 43, *et passim;* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, I, 412, 416.

Zephaniah.—The historical background of Zephaniah's work is this Scythian invasion, 626 B.C. He himself, according to the tradition embodied in the superscription to his book, is of royal lineage, descended from Hezekiah.[91] His poetic soul expresses itself in an apocalyptic type of literature. Such literature is like a gorgeous painting with great splashes of lurid color that set aflame the artist's theme. The apocalyptic writer uses astronomical, meteorological, and geological phenomena in a riot of imagery. Through it all runs a central theme—the Day of the Lord. God's power, turning a world upside down, can bring in a new order of righteousness. It is never the purpose of the writer to tell details of the end of the world, but to impress the reader with the need of shaking human life to the very foundations if God's will is to be established.

Popular religion looked upon the Day of the Lord as a time of vindication and fulfillment for Israel. Then would the heathen be subdued and the descendents of Abraham exalted. Zephaniah's problem was to interpret this Day of the Lord in terms of a philosophy of history. What God's judgment yielded was to be in terms of what the nation deserved through its righteousness, not through its family tree. The Scythians might solve the problem by making the Day of the Lord one of correction; only righteousness and teachableness would hide the nation from divine wrath.

High Lights.—Zeph. 1:7. The introductory verse which has somehow been misplaced in the text. Zephaniah announces his theme. Verses 2-9 paint the picture of desolation and cleansing preparatory to a new world.

1:2-3. Note that a literal reading of these verses would give Scriptural basis for a desolate earth, quite different from the picture painted by some other apocalyptists. It is lurid imagery.

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[91] See Bible dictionaries or encyclopedias under "Zephaniah."

1:5. The Assyrian cults of Manasseh's day are still operative and even a local Ammonite god, Milcom, gets his share of attention.

1:12. The original theme of the tradition about Diogenes and his lantern. The prophet finds indifferent plutocrats who deny any close relation between God and history.

1:14-17. A climactic description of a world in turmoil, in the throes of a new adjustment. The Day of the Lord is not a celebration but serious adjustment that may entail struggle and woe unless men heed the will of God.

2:4-7, 12-15. The Doom Song of Nations, written in the five-beat measure of a dirge:

For Ga′za shall be′ forsa′ken,—Ash′kelon des′olate
Ash′dod by noon′ shall be cap′tured,—and Ek′ron be torn′,
Woe′ to the peo′ple of the coast′ lands,—peo′ple of Che′rith,
The word′ of Yah′weh is against′ thee,—land′ of Philis′tia.

"Oh Canaan" breaks the rhythm and is probably an interpolation.

3:1-4. The indictment of Jerusalem and the ruling classes. The city is impervious to teaching. The rulers are predatory, the courts merciless, the local prophets traitorous, the priests profane.

3:6. Calamity has come to others; it can come to Jerusalem and the Hebrew nation.

2:3. The solution to it all—seek righteousness and meekness. This meekness is not a subdued cowardice, but an humble teachableness and peaceful attitude. It is the negation of fire-eating chauvinism seeking national aggrandizement. Righteousness and teachableness, says Zephaniah, will prevent the awful turmoil and suffering that comes from man's wrong doing, and will usher in a Day of the Lord glorious with light and love rather than darkness and wrath.

Zephaniah sees clearly that man must learn and live rightly, or he must go through the agony of having truth beaten into his head.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Would the prophets be greater to you if you knew that they had been clairvoyantly inspired?
2. Have you any evidence of God presenting his truth or will through normal channels?
3. Would you listen to or respect a teacher or preacher who worked only while in a trance?
4. Would it be easier to understand the prophets if they had spoken in prose instead of poetic imagery?
a. Are the solutions offered by Amos, Hosea, and Micah adequate to modern conditions?
b. Is a double standard of morals advisable?
c. From what sources have your moral standards come?

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5. Are there too many big cities?
6. Do most business and political leaders come from the country or city?
7. Can an aristocrat understand problems of a lower class?
8. Do you think Isaiah worked in statecraft because he was a statesman or because he was an aristocrat?
d. Are cities necessary?
e. What do you believe to be the prime cause of wars of aggression?

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9. Is a world of peace possible?
10. Would God be justified in destroying an evil world?
11. If God had to destroy the world, would it indicate that He had failed?
f. Is the majority of mankind spiritually minded?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Sargon's capture of Samaria. (Barton, AB, pp. 427-429; Olmstead, HA; HPS; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 323-332.)
2. Assyrian inscriptions that supplement the Bible. (See Barton, Olmstead, Rogers; British Museum Guide, q.v.; Clay, LOTB; Hilpricht, REBL; Price, BM.)
3. How Assyrian armies marched. (Breasted, AT, pp. 155 ff.)
4. Sennacherib's western campaign. (See No. 2 above; also Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Petrie, EI, pp. 77 ff.)
5. The Siloam tunnel and its inscription. (Barton, AB, p. 437; Cooke, NSI, pp. 15-17; Macalister, CEP, pp. 62, 115, 120; Olmstead, HPS p. 477; Con. Bib. Enc., p. 23.)

6. Jerusalem's defences. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB, XIII; Macalister, CEP; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc., "Jerusalem.")
a. Assyria's program and policy of conquest and administration. (Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 380 ff.)
b. The reign of Tiglath Pileser. (Olmstead, HA, HPA; Rogers, CPOT, HBA.)
c. The Babylonian revolt. (Dougherty, SAA, pp. 131 ff. and index *Marduk-apla-iddina*; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index *Marduk-apla-iddina*; Olmstead, HA.)
d. A comparison of the Greek Hesiod and the Hebrew Amos. (Kent, STPJ.)
e. The Lost Tribes. (Godbey, LTM.)

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7. American excavators and expeditions in Palestine and the Tigris-Euphrates valley. (Albright, APB; also in Ann. Amer. Acad. of Polit. and Soc. Sciences, Nov., 1932; Barton, AB, II, IV; Macalister, CEP, I; Ann. and Bull. of ASOR; Bull. Or. Inst. U. of Chicago.)
8. The Hebrew language as an adequate vehicle of expression. (Wild, LGB, pp. 138 ff.
9. The Ashurbanipal Library. (Breasted, AT, p. 160; Holliday, DL, pp. 53 ff.; Olmstead, HA; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 352-353; HBA.)
10. Literary activities in the world of 650 B.C. (Barton, AB, p. 437; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 120 ff.; see also Holliday, DL, bibliog.; Olmstead, HA; Rogers, CPOT; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH.)
11. Teaching values in the Genesis narratives. (Bewer, LOT, V-VI; Church, IS, III; Kent, STPJ, III.)
12. Creation and deluge stories of other peoples. (Barton, AB; Church, IS, III; Holliday, DL, index; Langdon, BEC; SM; Reinach, O, index; Rogers, CPOT.)
f. Excavations at Nineveh. (See Barton; Olmstead.)
g. The work of Layard and Rawlinson. (Baikie, LAE, IX; Barton, AB, pp. 45-53; Breasted, AT; Layard, NIR; Encyclopedic references.)
h. The great German critics. (See bibliographical references in: Driver, ILOT, footnotes; Eiselen, BP, II footnotes; Kent, BHH, pp. 349-352; Smith, OTH, pp. 1-34 footnotes.)
i. Babylonian and Assyrian religion. (Atkins, PG, III, bibliog., p. 562; Jastrow, RBA; Reinach, O, bibliog., p. 47; Rogers, RBA.)
j. Assyrian remains in the British Museum. (Brit. Mus. Guide.)
k. Excavations at Ur. (Barton, AB; Gadd, HMU; Hall-Woolley, EU; King, HSA; Woolley, S; Extensive news releases listed in Godbey, LTM, pp. 752-753.)
l. Flood evidences at ancient Ur. (See *k* above, and especially news items.)
m. The cult of infant sacrifice among the Semites of Palestine and North Africa. (Davis, CHR; deProrok, DLAG, and in Ann. Report Smithsonian Inst., 1925, p. 569; Lods, I; Moore, CPLME; Art and Archaeology, 1923, 1925.)

CHAPTER VII

INSTRUCTIONS

Note: This is a complicated period in biblical history, owing to the international situation. It will not be difficult if outlines are carefully made and maps continually consulted.

1. Begin outline for Jeremiah. Work out first period and the Deuteronomic reform. Secure suggestions for readings in the book of Jeremiah from the section on "High Lights." Read 2 Kgs. 22-23. (Bewer, LOT, IX, XI; Calkins, JP, I-VII; Eiselen, BP, XII; Kent, KPIJ; SEAIP; Knudson, BLP; Longacre, DPL; McCown, GSG, p. 87; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XX; Olmstead, HPS, XXXIII; Smith, OTH, XIV; Trattner, UBB, III.)

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2. Outline Nahum and give special attention to the discussion of Hebrew poetry. Make a study of Hebrew poetic forms. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 139 ff.; Kent, KPIJ; SEAIP; also GCOT, pp. 207-221, or SHPOT, I-II and bibliog., p. 303; Knopf, SFL, pp. 109-114; Torrey, SI, IX; Wild, LGB, pp. 121-142.)

a. Note the Scythian connection with Nineveh's fall. (Hall, AHNE; Minns, SG; Olmstead, HA; HPS; Encyclopedic sources, "Scythians.")

b. Study the fall of Assyria, reading from a history of Assyria. Note world conditions that led to its fall. Read up on the archaeology of Nineveh. (Barton, AB, pp. 491 ff.; Gadd, FN; Olmstead, HA.)

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3. Now outline Jeremiah's second period of work together with Habakkuk. Build up the historical background carefully. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 140 ff. and XI; Calkins, JP; Kent, op. cit.; Knopf, SFL; Wild, EHP, index.)

4. Study particularly the reign of Necho and his ambitions. Plot this Egypto-Assyrian situation on a map. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, map No. 21; Breasted, HE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index "Necho"; Olmstead, HPS, p. 506; Petrie, EI, p. 78.)

c. Review your studies of excavations at Megiddo and Carchemish. (Barton, AB; Duncan, DBH; IBA; Fisher, EA; Macalister, CEP; Olmstead, HA, HPS; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

d. Note that many older references will maintain that Egypt was going *against* Assyria; observe what changed this theory. (Cf. Gadd, FN; Olmstead, HA, pp. 634 ff.)

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Note: Four epochs must now be surveyed from the standpoint of the history and the literature, and then the whole fitted together in perspective:

(a) 597 B.C. The first capture of Jerusalem
(b) 586 B.C. The fall of the Hebrew state
(c) The interim, punctuated by the rise of Cyrus, 538 B.C.
(d) The restoration and second temple, 516 B.C.

Use these dates as pivotal points around which to gather the data and remember the date 586 B.C. as a point in world history.

5. Review 2 Kgs. 23-24; note the policies of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXII; Calkins, JP, VIII-XI; Knopf, BYMT, VIII; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, XXI; Olmstead, HPS, XXXIV.)
6. Using the references in the text and collateral sources continue the outline for Jeremiah, inserting historical data connected with the first capture of Jerusalem. (Bailey and Kent, op. cit.; Barton, AB, pp. 439-441; Calkins, JP; Kent, KPIJ; SEAIP; Macalister, CEP, p. 190; Olmstead, op. cit ; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 360-371; Standard Old Testament histories.)
7. Locate place names on map. (Con. Bib. Enc., Nos. 9 and 11.)

e. Give careful attention to the interplay of Egyptian and Babylonian forces. Read 2 Chron. 35-36. (Barton, AB, pp. 439-441; Breasted, HE; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, pp. 298-302; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 33-39; Petrie, EI, pp. 78-85; Rogers, HBA; Smith, OTH, pp. 293-296.)

f. Study Jeremiah's literary character. (Bewer, LOT; Calkins, JP; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, VI; Wild, LGB, index.)

* * * * *

8. Now prepare outline for Ezekiel, 1st period. (See No. 6 above; Albright, in JBL, q.v.; Bewer, LOT; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, VII, esp. p. 327 and note; Kent, op. cit.; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 518 ff.; Torrey, PE.)

* * * * *

9. Read 2 Kgs. 25. Continue Jeremiah outline inserting data connected with Zedekiah's rebellion and the fall of Jerusalem. (Calkins, JP, XIV-XVI; Kent, op. cit.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 436 ff.; Olmstead, HPS, XXXV; Trattner, UBB, pp. 121 ff.)
10. Note the possible historical background and the literary characteristics of Lam. 2 and 4. (Bewer, LOT, p. 189; Eiselen, POSW, VIII; Kent, SHPOT, III and pp. 73-77; McFadyen, MP, pp. 295-305.)
11. Review carefully the topography of Jerusalem; look up available archaeological data concerning its destruction; note the Tell en-Nasbeh excavations and the references to Gedaliah; compare Jer. 41.

(Badè, ETN; STTN; Barton, AB, XIII; Macalister, CEP, index; Olmstead, HPS, p. 527; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 360-371; Bull. Pacific School of Rel., Palestine Institute.)

g. Read up on the Babylonian background: economic, social, political. If possible read a few translations of Babylonian tablets, noting date formulae and general aspects. (Barton, AB; Boulton, BAI; Dougherty, NB, pp. 87, 89, 90 n, 95 et passim; AETN; Goodspeed, HBA; Lutz, NADE; Rogers, CPOT; HBA; Smith, BHTRCDB.)

h. Outline the career of Nebuchadnezzar; build up your knowledge of contemporary Babylonian history. (See *g* above.)

i. Study the arguments concerning the authorship of Lamentations. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 189 ff.; Eiselen, POSW, VIII; Kent, GCOT, pp. 222-225, or SHPOT, pp. 18-21; Wild, LGB, pp. 132, 171; Abingdon Comm.; Hastings, DB.)

* * * * *

12. Complete the outline for Ezekiel, his work after 586 B.C.; note carefully his new problem and message; note his legalistic ideas. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 264; Kent, MTJ, pp. 20 ff.; SEAIP; Olmstead, HPS, XXXVI; Smith, OTH, pp. 312 ff.; Torrey in JBL, LI, p. 159.)

j. Study data on the Hebrew priesthood. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 178 ff.; Edersheim, T; Godbey, LTM, index; Hastings, DB; Kent, GCOT, pp. 192-204; Lods, I, index; Con. Bib. Enc., art. "Jewish Worship," and p. 329; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

k. Read as extensively as possible on the Jewish colonies outside of Palestine, especially the Elephantine Jews. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXIII; Barton, AB, XXI; Cook, in Am. Jl. Theol., July, 1915; Feldman, YJ; Godbey, LTM, V-VI; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 40, 161 ff.; Petrie, EI, pp. 93-110.)

l. Study briefly Ezekiel's temple plan. Descriptions and illustrations will be found in encyclopedic sources. (Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

Prophet Advisers—Judah's Decline

WHO WAS JEREMIAH?

Jeremiah, Internationalist Supreme

The Misunderstood Prophet.—The same Scythian invasion that stirred Zephaniah also aroused a young priest in the Anathoth colony (see map No. 3). He has often been called the weeping prophet, partly because of a false ascription to him of the book of Lamentations. In reality, Jeremiah is one of the great minds of history, a statesman and diplomat of highest type, who wastes little time weeping while there is work to do.

For convenience, Jeremiah's work may be roughly divided into three periods or epochs:

I. 626 B.C. and 621 B.C., the Scythian invasion and the Deuteronomic reform
II. 608 B.C. and 605 B.C., the battles of Megiddo and Carchemish, and attendant political movements
III. 597 B.C. and 586 B.C., the two captures of Jerusalem, and beginning of exile.

Between these epochs come interims during which Jeremiah undoubtedly worked, but it is difficult to locate definitely specific bits of his writing. Besides, after 586 B.C. there was an extended activity, partly in Egypt. A youth, not really a man yet, Jeremiah is emotional, sensitive, sympathetic. His break with the Anathoth guild is in itself a mark of courage.

His call comes with a conviction that he is born to be a prophet. His plea of youthful insufficiency is balanced by the assurance that God is with him, and will stir him to speak. A delightful play upon words (Jer. 1:11-12) suggests that it may have been early spring. In the field Jeremiah sees *šaqed*, an almond branch, beautiful vanguard of spring in Palestine. Instantly his Hebrew mind associates a verb, *šôqed,* "to watch." It is an omen from Yahweh; he is watching over the young prophet. For over forty years we can trace Jeremiah's activity, the greatest patriot, statesman, and reformer of Judah.

The First Problem.—The problem in the first period was, as with Zephaniah, an aftermath of the Manasseh reaction. Religion was at low ebb. Political alliances clouded every issue. Crime and vice affected all classes; judges, teachers, priests, and opportunist prophets tumbled ideals into the mire. The great reform of Josiah, 621 B.C., promised better days, but later on Jeremiah lost enthusiasm for it because the emphasis upon worship at the central Jerusalem shrine fostered a priestly hierarchy there.

The Solution.—Aside from any results gained from Josiah's reform Jeremiah's solution is one of simple repentance and timely heed to the Scythian threat. Jehovah is merciful, loving, seeking the good of His creation, but even so he will use a foreign invasion as a scourge.

In the famous refutation of the old proverb about the father's sour grapes setting the children's teeth on edge, Jeremiah posits individual responsibility or personal righteousness as the first step toward a new social order (Jer. 31:29-30).

High Lights, 1st Period.—Jer. 1:4-8. The awakening youth, possibly stirred by news of the Scythian invasion, or by Zephaniah's preaching. In this uncertainty he sees the flowering almond, verses 11-12. His first efforts at Anathoth are ridiculed. He is quite young. Also, if he fosters the Josiah reform with its suppression of local cult centers, he imperils the very existence of such a group as the Anathoth priest guild.

1:13-14 and 4:13-16. Like a boiling cauldron the north land is pouring forth disaster upon Palestine. Already messengers race through the villages announcing the Scythian raiders. These verses aid in dating this period of Jeremiah's work.

2:7-8. In the land where Israel should have developed her heritage of true religion, Canaanite Baalism has contaminated everything. Scribes and rulers are as deep in it as ignorant peasants.

2:16-18. The same musty policies of international intrigue, playing off Egypt and Assyria in the vain hope of building Palestinian power. Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.) is building forts and great storage pits[1] and subjugating Philistia, while a restive Babylon is threatening Assyria who is perfectly willing to accept Egyptian aid. It looks like a good time for a petty Hebrew kinglet to play politics.

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[1] Especially at Gerar, where a square fort was built and grain pits installed, thirty feet deep. See Petrie, *Gerar.*

2:11. Strange to say, Israel who presumably follows the true God, gives up her God while other nations with false gods never think of repudiating them. Verse 28 is a sarcastic challenge to let Israels' new gods save her if they can.

2:32. A girl can not forget her jewelry and trinkets, but this nation can completely forget its God.

4:5-6. The Scythians are coming! Sound the alarm!

4:23-29. Vivid imagery, similar to that of Zephaniah, describing possible desolation.

5:1-5. A parallel to the famous story of Diogenes and his lantern, looking for an honest man. So Jeremiah searching Jerusalem, finds only graft and dishonesty. His first thought is that the market place would naturally have only common traders, but further inspection reveals that the leaders and aristocrats are as ignorantly vicious as the peasantry.

5:30. The indictment. The prophets are false; the priests take orders from their supporters; the people like it—a hopeless combination.

6:22-26. Further reference to the Scythians.

WHO WROTE DEUTERONOMY?

The Great Reform.—If the true prophets of Yahweh were writing during the reign of Manasseh, there is no reason to suppose that their activities were confined to stories and history. Great social tendencies or great ideals often crystallize in law codes.[2] To make a code operative, however, there must be some sanction and some authority.

Josiah, Yahwehist and temple repairer, in his eighteenth year audited the temple building fund, and inaugurated his most extensive reconstruction. His zeal may have been partly political,[3] as a gesture of independence stimulated by the wrangle between Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. Be that as it may, a workman finding a scroll in a recess in the temple wall, quickly passed it to Josiah, via Hilkiah the priest and Shaphan the scribe.

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[2] *Cf.* the Code of Hammurabi, Moses, the laws of Solon, Lycurgus, or the American Constitution and its amendments.

[3] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* Chap. XXXIII, suggests this.

Back to Moses.—The scroll purported to be a résumé of the laws of Moses, a "second" statement, hence the name "deutero-nomy." The present book of Deuteronomy undoubtedly imbeds this Deuteronomic Code, though containing much additional material.[4] The spirit is prophetic, and strongly opposes the local baal shrines whose cult practices so often tore down any possible ethical standards of Yahwehism. To safeguard the Yahweh faith the shrine at Jerusalem was made supreme, and the Levites were to serve under central direction. Some think that it

This cone was written about 1950 B.C. commemorating the completion of a palace. The builder, Sin-gâšid, was an embryo economist. He reduced grain prices during a period of inflation and equated other commodities with the silver shekel so as to establish a stabilized market. This attempt to legislate social and economic adjustment preceded the Deuteronomic code by 1300 years. Published by the author in *Semicentennial Publications of the University of Southern California*, Language and Literature Series, No. 2, 1930.

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[4] See Eiselen, *The Books of the Pentateuch;* Longacre, *Deuteronomy a Prophetic Law Book.* Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* I, 635-638, holds that a Book of the Covenant was produced during Manasseh's reign, out of which the Deuteronomic Code may have grown. See also, Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* Vol. V, 1928; Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* I, 418 ff.

was this ruling that brought Jeremiah to Jerusalem, antagonized his Anathoth friends, and gave him his start to fame.

Heated arguments have been carried on concerning the ethics of a group of religious reformers secreting such a scroll in the temple, to have it later brought forth at the psychological moment as a venerable Mosaic document. Each age has its own accepted literary devices, and a pseudograph,[5] a manuscript ascribed to some ancient authority, was a recognized practice.[6] The Code discusses many problems that Moses never faced; its geography and background are agricultural Palestine rather than desert oases.

A Modern Touch.—The world has not yet caught up with Deuteronomy. Its idealism may be expressed in terms of ancient Palestine, but its principles are universal.

Deut. 24:14. You shall not fix the wages of a native or immigrant at the poverty level (Industrial exploitation).

15:13. When you are through with an employee, you shall not send him out into society without funds, to become a public charge (Old age or retirement insurance).

17:16 ff. He (the ruler) shall not exploit his office for personal gain or pleasure . . . he shall keep this great religious literature by him and read it daily (Official integrity).

5:20. You shall not gossip about your neighbor (Mutual Respect).

16:19. You shall not take a bribe or show partiality (Honest judiciary).

17:12. You must enforce the law and restrain the criminal (Expeditious court procedure and conviction).

25:13. Definite standards of weights and measures are essential to economic stability (Marketing control).

22:6. No individual has the right to exploit natural resources for personal gain to the detriment of social interests (Conservation of natural resources).

24:6. You shall extend credit to a man in economic distress and permit him to retain the means of rehabilitation (Bankruptcy).

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[5] Greek *pseudo,* "false," and *graphē,* "writing," hence a *nom de plume.*

[6] A helpful presentation of this problem is found in Calkins, *Jeremiah the Prophet,* Chap. VII.

31:9. The state shall provide instruction in the cultural heritage for all classes regardless of wealth, sex, or citizenship (Public education, standard and equalized).

6:7. The parent shall assume the responsibility of giving the child initial instruction in law and religion (A Parent-Teacher program).

A city ordinance is a modern application of the constitution. The law must be constitutional—which does not mean that the framers of that document wrote the ordinance, but that the ordinance embodies the spirit of the framers. Deuteronomy is Mosa-*ic*, regardless of who actually penned it. A prohibition on idolatry is definitely applied by removing the baal altars, groves, and local shrines. Other laws, clearly reminiscent of Manasseh's debauch, hark back to sturdy Mosaic Yahwehism. Moses' autographs are not necesary; his ideals are!

Jeremiah's Protest.—No better proof of the daring independence of the prophetic spirit could be found than Jeremiah's later repudiation of the whole movement, when he found that the backers of Deuteronomy were overdoing its temple provisions and building up an elaborate priestly ritual and hierarchy. He even denied that Moses ever instituted such forms[7] (Jer. 7:21-23), and implicated the scribal guild as partly responsible. Probably the magnificent social reforms were but partialy carried out while the closing of local shrines deprived the peasantry of proper religious exercise,[8] thus laying foundations for the regrettable cleavage between God's common folks and the self-styled "Pious."[9] Such a situation would stifle true religion, so a prophet was sure to flare up against it.

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[7] A striking and troublesome statement upon which some interpreters have rested an argument for a very dim if not imaginary Moses. It could be argued that Jeremiah knew that original Yahwehism was a simple, nomadic faith, and that he saw a growing ritualism that would later emerge as the complex Levitical system that uncritical students have accepted as existing from Moses' time. Most scholars agree that the minute priestly provisions of the Pentateuch were of far later date. On these problems see Driver, Eiselen, Oesterley and Robinson, and Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 303.

[8] The local priests were at Jerusalem; the peasant's hard-earned offerings went to the temple clique; the journey to Jerusalem was long and expensive; and with all this, the rural Israelite could participate in only three yearly ceremonies.

[9] This was to be a crucial point in Jesus' work.

WHAT BECAME OF ASSYRIA?

Journey's End.—Between the Deuteronomic reform (621 B.C.) and Jeremiah's protest (608 B.C.) occurred the great mystery drama of history. How could a mighty world power of centuries disappear almost over-night? Assyria, vampire of the ancient world, hated, cruel, the embodiment of ruthless military despotism, had reduced war and terror to an organized science. In 662 B.C. she threw her armies far over into Egypt against Psammetichus. A scant fifty years later Mede, Babylonian, Scythian, and numerous malcontents throttled her. Her last governor finished at Tyre 648 B.C.; by 640 B.C. the records begin to fade out, except for business documents.[10] As the Scythians swept down in 626 B.C., Nabopolasar wrested Babylon from the dying vulture, much to the concern of Necho of Egypt who had no desire to see a Babylonian empire. When in 614 B.C. Cyaxeres the Mede threatened Nineveh, Nabopolasar wisely accepted the situation. June to August, 612 B.C., saw three assaults. Today the moat south of the Hatamti gate is choked with broken bricks and stone. Inside the ruined gate are remains of a hurriedly constructed counter wall. Ash heaps tell of the furious fires. Nineveh fell. The vampire was dead![11]

WHO TOLD ABOUT IT?

The Master Poet.—Part of the story is told on a tablet in the British Museum,[12] but the dust and smoke is better preserved by a Hebrew exile from Elkosh, a master of poetic technique vying with Homer or Pindar.[13] Hebrew poetry does not rime, but has cadence, a succession of stressed syllables or beats which may indicate the emotion.[14] As a march tune moves in four-beat rhythm, so did Hebrew martial poetry. Alarm was expressed by two short, sharp accents. Three-beat cadence was ordinary. Deep emotion, joy, or sorrow was indicated by five cadences, three followed by two sharper accents, like the catch in the throat.[15]

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[10] Olmstead, *op. cit.,* 634 ff.

[11] For details see histories of Assyria by Olmstead, Rogers, Smith and *Cambridge Ancient History.*

[12] Until this document was published, 606 B.C. had been the usual date assigned for the fall of Assyria. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh.*

[13] Nahum's ode presents some critical problems. The first chapter seems to have originally been an acrostic, usually a late type of writing. The location of Elkosh is uncertain, though frequently identified with a village in Assyria and thus suggesting that Nahum might have been of old Samaritan stock and a possible eye witness to

Nahum's description of Nineveh's fall pulsates with descriptive cadence,—two-beat, alarm; four-beat, marching; five-beat, wailing; in a succession of sound pictures that portray the scene. It may be rendered into English somewhat as follows:

Attention!
A destroy′er has come′ up against′ thee (2:1)

Alarm
Set′ the watch′ (2:1)
Guard′ the way′
Buck′le the ar′mor
Mus′ter arms′

Advance
The shields′ of the he′roes are dyed′ with red′ (2:3)
The war′riors are clad′ in scar′let garb′
The cha′riot met′al gleams′ like fire′
In the day′ of prepara′tion the hor′ses are pran′cing

On the streets′ the cha′riots rat′tle (2:4a)
They are lurch′ing across′ the plain′

Conflict
They flash′ like fire′ (2:4b)
They dart′ like light′ning

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the siege. On the other hand, his interest is in Judah and his description could have been penned before the city fell, a pronouncement of doom. Concise discussion will be found in Eiselen, *Prophetic Books of the Old Testament*, II, 492 ff.

[14] In 1921, the author published a small manual, *Bible Poetry and Inspired Song*, in which this was shown by typographical arrangement of passages. It is now out of print, but see Wild, *Literary Guide to the Bible*, 132, and Torrey, *Second Isaiah*, IX.

[15] A line in Lamentations illustrates this five-beat pattern: *E-kah′ ya-‘îbh′ be′ap-po′ ’Adô-nai′ ’êth bath ṣi-yon′*, "How God′ hath dar′kened in an′ger the daugh′ter of Zi′on." Reading this with a drawl of the first three accents, and then rapidly adding, "the daughter of Zion," gives the characteristic five-beat cadence. Quoted from the author's *The Student Faces Life*, 112.

He mus′ters the val′iant (2:5)
They car′ry the out′posts
They rush′ to the wall′
They set′ up the cov′erings

The wa′ter gates are o′pened (2:6)

Doom

The pal′ace goes down′ in ru′in
The queen′ is unveil′ed and car′ried off′ (2:7)
Her maid′ens moan′ as mourn′ing doves′
They are beat′ing upon′ their breasts′
Nin′eveh is like′ a pool′ of wa′ter (2:8)
Her wa′ters are flow′ing away′

Loot

Loot′ the sil′ver, loot′ the gold′ (2:9)
End′less is′ the pre′cious store′
Hark′! the whip′ and rat′tling wheel′ (3:2)
Gal′loping horse′ and sway′ing car′
Horse′men charg′ing with flash′ of sword′ (3:3)
Glit′tering spear′ and wound′ed horde′
Piles′ of slain′, no end′ of dead′
They stum′ble upon′ their corps′es dread′.

Aftermath

Assy′ria, thy ru′lers sleep′ (3:18)
Thy no′bles sleep′ in death′
There is′ no heal′ing thy wound′, ′tis′ fa′tal (3:19)
Those′ who hear′ the news′—wild′ly exult′!

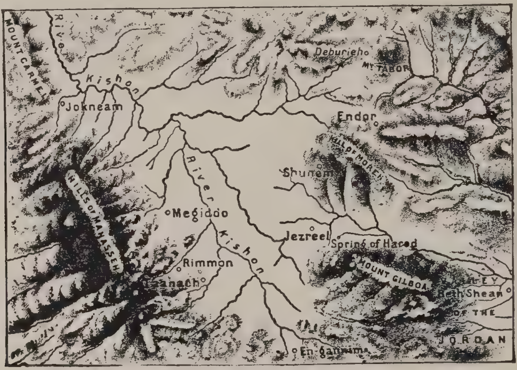
Nahum, poet and prophet, proclaims Yahweh's law of nations. Ruthless exploitation is doomed. A militaristic despotism is an incurable disease. The tragedy is that there is an aftermath of hatred that poisons the victors' minds.

WHAT WERE JEREMIAH'S TROUBLES?

Jeremiah, 2d Period

Egypt's Dream.—Not all the Assyrian nobles were slain. Ashur-uballit escaped to Harran and set up a provisional government, where Nabopolasar sought him in 611 B.C.[16] Necho seeing the need of bolstering Assyria as a buffer between himself and growing Babylon, marched north to form a junction with Ashur-uballit.

Josiah, Yahwehist, pro-prophetic, anti-Egyptian, protested the violation of Palestinian neutrality. Necho wrote, advising him to stay home and avoid trouble. Josiah, with true Hebraic theology, trusted that his righteousness[17] would protect him from bodily harm. At Megiddo, chief battlefield of Palestine,[18] an Egyptian arrow found Josiah.[19] His sally checked Egypt, but the great reformer was dead (608 B.C.).



Map of the Plain of Esdraelon.
Showing Megiddo.

Shallum, his successor, lasted ninety days. Egypt took no chances with a pro-prophetic vassal. Jehoiakim was made king, whereupon Jeremiah wrote his famous dirge (Jer. 22:10, a five-beat lament):

Weep not′ for him′ who is dead′—nor wail′ for him′ (Josiah)
Weep ra′ther for him′ who has gone′,—ex′iled forev′er (Shallum)
And nev′er again′ shall behold′—his na′tive land′

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[16] By 609 B.C., Necho was assisting this feeble Assyrian kingdom and Ashur-uballit appeared back in Mesopotamia again.

[17] The Deuteronomic reform?

[18] See Fisher, *Armageddon*.

[19] The suggestive phrase, "and when he (Necho) had seen his face, he slew him" may mean that Necho judged Josiah as a traitorous vassal. Was it a courtmartial?

It may be that this severe blow to piety induced the people to turn avidly to temple ritualism to gain divine favor. If so, the consequent supremacy of the Jerusalem hierarchy may have called forth Jeremiah's temple discourse and the vitriolic protest against sacrifices and centralized worship at Jerusalem (Jer. 26).

The frank criticism of people and government brought about arrest and trial. Cooler heads prevailed, however, quoting the precedent of Micah,[20] who had likewise warned that the sacred city would be despoiled. Hezekiah had listened to Micah; Jehoiakim could do worse than listen to Jeremiah. The pseudo-patriots even extradited prophet Uriah of Kirjathjearim from Egypt. Jehoiakim vented his spite by personally running him through, ordering the body dumped in the common cemetery. Thanks to Ahikam, son of the powerful Shaphan, Jeremiah was protected (Jer. 26:20-24).

Prophets Are People.—This period of personal struggle reveals a delightfully human Jeremiah. Anathoth, the home town, conspires against him. He knows it, but is as the trustful lamb led to slaughter (Jer. 11:21, 18-19). With rash confidence the populace asserts that the priests can teach, the elders can counsel, and boot-licking members of the prophetic party can speak. Jeremiah asking God to listen raises the question "Should evil be repaid for good?" Following this up, the desperate prophet argues it out with God (Jer. 12:1):

Thou art too righteous for me to contend with Thee
Yet I would reason it out:
Why do the wicked prosper and the treacherous live at ease?

Family life is denied (16:2). Social invitations cease (15:17 and 16:8). There is grim humor in the cry that he has been born out of gear with the world, hated, even though nobody owes him money! With it all, the prophetic call is irresistible. Maybe God has fooled him (20:7).

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[20] This is the one case where another prophet is quoted by name in the prophetic literature (Jer. 26:18).

Everybody mocks (20:7). He has only one sermon, "Beware! Doom!" God seems to have forgotten him. Yet, when he decides to repudiate the prophetic mission, a consuming fire burns within, and again he breaks forth.

Poor Jeremiah! Magnificent hero! God has caught him. He must go on.

Writing Scripture.—Sometime in this period, Jeremiah begins formal dictation of his messages to his stenographer, Baruch.[21] He can not go to the temple personally, probably owing to opposition from the temple hierarchy. Baruch taking the scroll during a temple festival reads it publicly. He is soon called before a committee. Thence he is hailed into the royal presence. Jehoiakim has little use for Jeremiah or his words. He grabs the parchment, slits it with a knife, and throws it on the fire. There is drama and more grim humor in the finale—Jeremiah takes another scroll, dictates a duplicate, AND ADDS MUCH MORE (Jer. 36:1-32)!

The Egyptian Debacle.—Necho still planned to go north to aid Assyria. Checked at Megiddo in 608 B.C., he sallied forth again in 605 B.C. This time no Yahweh enthusiast protested. Up the coast, past Megiddo, past Lebanon, and on to the very heart of the old Amurru country pressed the Egyptian army, only to find Assyria a corpse and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon arrayed against them. At Carchemish was fought the Waterloo of Egypt. It changed the history of Palestine, and of the world. Jeremiah, prophetic, anti-Egyptian, remembering the death of Josiah, sang a taunt song over Egypt that has the dynamic descriptive power of a Kipling. He begins with a satirical mustering of troops:

> Set in line the buckler and shield
>   And draw near to battle;
> Harness the horses and mount ye riders,
>   And take your stand, full armed;

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[21] See Robinson, T. H., "Baruch's Roll" in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1924, xiii, 209 ff.

Polish the lances,
Put on the coats of mail!

Then come two pictures of the fight, each complete in itself, but parallel in theme. One, short, depicts wild flight and the debacle at the Euphrates; the other, longer, depicts a rising stream that surges upward only to fall back, powerless.

Picture 1

Why are they dismayed and turning backward?
Their heroes are beaten, they flee and look not back.
Terror on every side!
The swift cannot get away, nor the mighty warrior escape.
Northward, beside the river Euphrates,
They have stumbled and fallen.

Picture 2

Who is this that riseth up like the Nile
Whose waters come as a flood. . . . ?
And he saith, "I will rise up, I will cover the earth,
I will destroy the inhabitants thereof!"

At this point another satirical command is introduced:

Charge, ye horses! Speed, ye chariots!
Let the shock troops come forth,
Ethiop and Libyan, handling the shield,
And the Lydians that bend the bow!

Then the dénouement:

But that day is Jehovah's day of judgment;
That he may avenge those who oppose him;
And the sword shall devour to satiety,
And shall drink its fill of their blood,
For Jehovah conducts a sacrifice
In the Northland,
Beside the river,
The Euphrates.

"This whole thrilling lyric of Jeremiah's has such power of imagery and so crystallizes the historical crisis and attendant emotions, that it too qualifies as great literature, whether in the original Hebrew or in faulty English translation."[22]

High Lights—Jeremiah, 2d Period.—Jer. 22:10. The dirge over Josiah.

11:9, 18-19; 18:18. Plots against Jeremiah.

18:1-12. God, like the potter, can not be thwarted. If the material is unusable for one vessel, it is made into another. Judah will be used of God according to her spiritual quality. God is master, but man can choose his course. One of the finest bits of Jeremiahan thinking.

7:1-11. The first temple discourse. The temple is sacred only as righteousness makes it so. Jeremiah pleads for an actual practice of the Deuteronomic code. Compare these verses and the items with the code (p. 253).

7:31. The Moloch worship of Manasseh's day persisted in the fateful *Gê hinnôm,* which was to become an accursed spot, fit only for the ever-burning refuse of a city dump, the Gehenna of fire.[23]

8:4 ff. The doom of a guilty nation.

8:19. A false theology. Yahweh lives in Zion; how can any evil overtake her? It is the perversion of the confidence expressed by Isaiah.

13:1-7. A dramatization of the idea that Judah has become unfit for Yahweh's use. Jeremiah hardly made two long trips to the Euphrates to recover and bury a mildewed loin cloth. The Hebrew word rendered "Euphrates" may have signified the village of Perath, not far from Anathoth.

14:13-16. The hollow promises of the false prophets who play in with the government.

17:5. A quotation from *The Maxims of Amen-em-ope,* of Egypt. Jeremiah is familiar with the literary gems of his day. (See *Harvard Theological Review,* Oct., 1925, p. 364.)

20:1-6. Jeremiah's arrest by Pashur, a high temple official. He is not silenced by this public disgrace, but next morning launches a scorching arraignment of the temple clique, including announcement of the impending Babylonian attack.

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[23] From the author's *The Student Faces Life,* 118-120.

[23] See notes Nos. 71, 72, p. 235.

25:1-23. Though exulting over Egypt's fall, Jeremiah sees Babylon as the next master of the world. Parts of the chapter are from other hands than those of Jeremiah, but he probably said something like this when Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of southwestern Asia, 605 B.C.

WHO THOUGHT IT THROUGH?

Pre-Hellenic Philosophy.—Most histories of philosophy begin one chapter too late. There is a whole range of pre-Hellenic thought[24] and Greek philosophy itself burst from Asiatic sources.[25] Hebraic philosophy arose from practical considerations. Carchemish precipitated the age-old question of world maladjustment. It seemed a negation of fondest Hebrew hopes. With Egypt checked and Assyria throttled, Yahweh could so easily bring triumph to his people. Instead, heathen Babylonians were permitted to gobble up the world. It was the old problem: "Why do the righteous suffer? Why do the wicked prosper? Why do the less righteous lord it over the more righteous?"

An Honest Doubter.—Habakkuk's first reaction is a protest (Hab. 1:2). "How long, O Lord, have I cried and Thou hearest not (1:2)! Trouble is before my eyes (1:3). Violence increases; law is relaxed, justice is a farce" (1:4)! The protest is followed by a quotation from the popular theology: "Yahweh is of old, holy, too pure to be the author of evil or the witness of wrong" (1:12-13)! With ruthless courage Habakkuk drives his mind into the problem: "Then why dost Thou see the wicked and remain silent when they swallow up those more righteous than themselves" (1:13b)? It is a perfect picture of the Neo-Babylonian ascendency, viewed by a philosophical Hebraic mind.

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[24] To seek for a pre-Hellenic philosophy at first seems hopeless. A few broken papyri, clay tablets or rotting parchments seem poor substitutes for Plato's *Dialogs* or Aristotle's *Logic*. But Semitic philosophy is direct, brief, and gleaned from observation. Where Greek philosophy is deductive and extended, Hebraic is inductive and condensed. Yet it is a true philosophy, for it attacks basic problems and offers rational solutions. On pre-Hellenic thought, see: "The Wisdom of Ptah Hotep"; "Instruction of Ke-Gemni"; "Instruction of Amen-em-het"; and "Precepts of Ani" in Brian Brown, *Wisdom of the Egyptians;* Turnbull, *Tongues of Fire;* Gunn, *Instruction of Ptah Hotep;* "Tabi-utul-elil of Babylon," in Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 168, 178-179.

[25] "Thales hailed from Miletus on the Asian shore. He thought of water as the basic element, an idea developed from old Semitic lore. (See Clay, *Origin of Biblical Tradition.*) His prediction of the eclipse of May 28, 585 B.C., may indicate that Babylonian astronomy was not unknown to him. Anaximander and Anaximenes were also from Miletus . . . Zeno; Melissus, from the little island of Samos; Georgias . . . and Heraclitus . . . breathed an Asian atmosphere." Knopf, *The Student Faces Life*, 80-81.

Habakkuk is honest. He does not stop with doubt. He has the scientific mind. His tower[26] is a laboratory from which to observe life and seek an answer (2:1). He sees treachery, arrogance (2:5), exploitation (2:6), and Jehoiakim's conscienceless policy. He sees the Chaldean advance as a judgement upon Assyria (1:5-6). Could it be that God thus judges Judah also (1:12b)?

Suddenly the answer crystallizes. It is to be written so clearly that a runner can read the cuneiform characters upon the tablet[27] (2:2). "Behold the wicked.[28] His soul is empty and disturbed within him; but the righteous lives by his right-ness" (2:4). Habakkuk sees that a world promising shekels for righteousness would be paradise for the selfish but would never develop great souls. The reward of righteousness is the glory of being right. The reward of love is the thrill of loving. Goodness pays only in its own coin. On the other hand, the course of the evil-doer runs out eventually (2:8, 11, 13, 17). Meanwhile, the evil-doer misses the point of life. The curse of sin is its idiotic vacuity. Wickedness is often vicious; it is always dumb.

Habakkuk was right. Babylon perished eventually, while out of the little Hebrew nation came the world's greatest literature and its greatest Faith. Denied an empire, the Hebrew lived through his right-ness, his religious idealism.

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[26] Palestine was filled with such towers, *migdôlîm*. Small ones were used for guarding the fields; large ones formed part of a city's walled defenses. See Macalister, Barton or Olmstead, *op. cit.*

[27] A clear indication of the growing influence of Babylon. The prophet uses a familiar Babylonian illustration, the clay tablet, intricate and difficult to read at best, but more so if attempted on the run. It is a striking figure.

[28] See notes in analysis for this translation.

High Lights.—Hab. 1:2. Habakkuk has evidently struggled with his problem for some time. Maybe the Megiddo incident starts him, while the battle of Carchemish intensifies his doubt of Yahweh. The exact date of the prophecy is unknown.

1:3. The term "violence" is Hebrew *ḥamas*, something like the German *Unrecht*, or "it's all wrong!" Everything is wrong, yet Yahweh helps not.

1:4. An indictment of the times; a symptom of a perverse world.

1:5-11. The Chaldeans are an instrument of judgment. Habakkuk's description savors more of Assyrian characteristics than Neo-Babylonian. He probably knows the Assyrians better. The Neo-Babylonians did engage in conquest, but they were business men rather than cruel conquerors.

1:12 (omit the second half of the verse) and 1:13. A statement of the popular teachings about Yahweh. Habakkuk knows them all, but if such concepts are true, then how can Yahweh permit an evil world?

2:4. One of the few passages where textual variation makes a difference. Even in English the usual reading, "Behold, his soul is puffed up," obviously omits the antecedent of the pronoun, "his." The second line begins with the conjunction "but," implying contrast. "But the righteous" demands "the wicked" in line 1. The word translated "puffed up" means "to be inflated," to occupy space without much inside, hence empty. The restored reading would then be:

> Behold the wicked! his soul is empty and harassed;
> But the righteous lives by his right-ness.

This reading, made possible by simple rules of grammar and parallelism, is further supported by other biblical texts such as the Syriac and the Aramaic paraphrases or Targums.[29]

2:5, 6, 8, 9, 12. An indictment or Bill of Particulars against Babylon. Parts of this section may have been added by a later scribe, after Babylon had become a world power. In part it would seem almost a re-statement of the Hebraic idea that Habakkuk questioned, i.e. the painful destruction of the wicked.

2:19-20. These verses reflect a post-exilic point of view, and are like a marginal note added to the parchment by a pious scribe recoiling from pagan idolatry. Verse 20 is a compound of Psalm 11:4 and Zeph. 1:7.

Chapter 3 seems to be quite clearly an appended lyric, with titles, musical notes and *selahs*. Such interpolated songs are common in the prophetic books. Fortunately, the contents fit Habakkuk's mood. It must be remembered that the biblical works were used for inspiration as well as for record, hence editorial additions are not wholly to be condemned.[30]

WHAT RUINED THE HEBREW STATE?

Jeremiah, 3d Period

Ezekiel, 1st Period

Approaching Doom.—Three years after his formal submission to Nebuchadnezzar (600 B.C.), Jehoiakim rebelled. Even in the hectic years preceding he had levied taxes, and had spent large sums upon an elaborate palace (Jer. 22:13-15). Jeremiah caustically reminded the king that red paint and cedar were poor substitutes for statesmanship; that a leopard could change his spots or an Ethiopian his skin easier than a stubborn king could take advice (Jer. 13:23)! He even harked back to the reform days of Josiah when there was more interest in social justice and less in public graft.

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[29] On the Syriac Bible and the Targums, refer to any standard Bible dictionary, encyclopedia or commentary.

[30] See Bewer, *Literature of the Old Testament*, 142.

As a dramatic illustration of official perfidy, Jeremiah gathered a group of teetotaler Rechabites, driven within the walls by Aramean and Babylonian foraging parties (Jer. 35:11), and tried to treat them to a wine banquet. The stern devotees of desert Yahwehism, true to their vows against wine,—the symbol of baalistic orgies,—refused. Jeremiah praised men who would obey a mere ancestor's vow, and denounced the populace that would not obey the eternal God.

Youth Has Its Chance.—"Such was the world in which eighteen-year-old Jehoiachin found himself in 597 B.C. Father Jehoiakim had broken every commandment, and spurned every warning. The fatal revolt brought an army around Jerusalem. Social and political rottenness were to reap vengeance. Judah was tottering. Then Jehoiakim died!

"Jehoiachin might have rallied the fiery prophetic school about him. He might have thrilled the youth of Judah with his daring. He might have quickly treated with Babylon, and guaranteed his treaties as more than scraps of papyrus. Babylon expected her tribute, but was fairly reasonable with quiet provinces.

"Three months and ten days the siege wears on, and then a gate swings open and a crowd surges forth. It is Jehoiachin and his retinue, his wives, his servants, his children, his chief men, his bankers—the 'Who's Who' of Judah. . . . A foraging party rushes into the city, strips the royal treasury, and despoils the sacred temple itself."[31]

High Lights.—Jer. 22:13. The press gang, resort of ruthless kings.

22:14. The ultra-modern palace, with expensive construction and screaming vermilion paint.

22:15-17. Good king Josiah as compared to Jehoiakim.

22:18-19. Jeremiah thinks that Jehoiakim will feel

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[31] Quoted from the author's *Bible Youth in Modern Times*, 87.

Babylon's wrath, and his dead body be desecrated. Actually this does not happen. Jehoiakim dies just before the siege is completed. Jehoiachin bears the brunt of Jehoiakim's foolishness.

Chapters 12-13. Jeremiah laments over his doomed nation.

35:1-18. The Rechabite episode.

13:1. Jehoiachin is under the influence of the dowager. Her very name, Nehushtah, signifies "brass." At least the modern reader can derive subtle humor from the appellation. Nehushtah is to be dragged down from her position and finery, a captive woman.

22:24-29. If Jehoiachin were God's private seal, his chief badge of authority, his sole executive power, God would throw him away,—tarnished, useless and disgusting. He is but an imitation jewel, full of flaws, unfit for Yahweh the King of kings.

First Adjustments.—The uncle of Jehoiachin, twenty-one-year-old Mattaniah, was enthroned by Nebuchadnezzar. To celebrate, a new name was chosen, Zedekiah, "Yahweh is Righteous." Maybe it partially recognized the old prophetic doctrine, and suggested that the capture of Jerusalem was deserved.

The deported Hebrews in Babylon presented a problem. What should be their attitude to their captors? Here Jeremiah arose to great heights of spiritual vision. In a letter to the captives he wrote:

> Build houses; plant gardens; establish families;
> Seek Babylon's welfare! Pray for your captors!
> In Babylon's prosperity lies your own! (Jer. 29:5-7).

It is consummate wisdom. It is economic and social sanity. The methods of hate, force, and vengeance have signally failed, and a new attitude must dominate. No group lives alone. No group can ultimately prosper alone. Welfare and prosperity are social necessities. It is hard doctrine but a glorious solution, vigorously assailed by the false prophets, Ahab ben-Kolaiah, Zedekiah ben-Maaseiah, and Shemaiah the Nehelamite. They all try to discredit Jeremiah.

A Priest Turned Prophet.—According to tradition among the leaders deported by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C. was a young priest, Ezekiel. The book is filled with critical problems. It has even been interpreted as a pseudograph, of about 230 B.C., a noble priestly work of high idealism, presenting a complete worship ritual and code of religious conduct that would lift Judah's faith to the highest ethical and ritual levels.[32] This would fit in with the problem of the book of Ezra, another priest or scribe, whose historicity is open to investigation,[33] and the old tradition of the Great Synagogue preserved in the Jewish Mishna.[34]

Whether an historical or a literary character, the biblical writer presents the figure of a priest whose ecclesiastical mind is jolted into new activity by the deportation. He is one of the few persons definitely pictured as a trance *nabî*. In his home, or in a council of elders, he suddenly goes off into acute psychic states which stimulate ideas and focus attention upon grave issues.

Problem and Method.—As a priest, Ezekiel is a symbolist, for symbolism is the universal dramatic language of religion.[35] The book must be viewed through the spectacles of symbolism; otherwise, it will be out of focus and the source of grave vagaries of theology. If an historical character, then this master religionist is facing the problem of a transported people with childlike ideas. So far away from Zion, temple, and ritual—where is Yahweh? How can they contact Him?

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[32] See Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*. Doctor Torrey has been a foremost American scholar in careful analysis of the whole exilic period. There is no doubt that much of the present Biblical material represents careful arrangement and editing in the interest of Judean claims as opposed to Samaritan. *Cf.* Budde, "Zum Eingang des Buches Ezechiel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LII, 1931, 20 ff.

[33] See Torrey, *Ezra Studies*. *Cf.* Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, II, 138.

[34] See articles on "Synagogue."

[35] It is not priestly trickery. There is no escape from symbolism. It pervades daily life—a hand-shake; a smile; a salute; a trade-mark; a lodge ritual; to say nothing of the symbols of star, cross, crescent, book, scroll, Gothic arch, and myriad other items that suggest ideas through form. Upton Sinclair in his *Profits of Religion* misses this psychological point.

In rich symbolic language Ezekiel pictures Deity. The vision is impressionistic—fire, cloud, light, movement—yet definite in the glimpse of the chariot and Creatures and the eyes within the wheels. The ideas are clear. Yahweh rules the universe. He can go everywhere (omnipresence) function everywhere (omnipotence, even in Babylon) and see everything (omniscience). It is strong theology in a sugar-coating of dazzling imagery.

The figure of the scroll reminds one that the ancient Egyptians would take a written charm or medical prescription, wash off the ink in a mug of beer, then drink the contents! Ezekiel is to eat the scroll—literally to assimilate and digest it. Filled with Yahweh's instructions, he will become a prophet of the Word. Here is an important step in emphasis upon the written word, a factor that makes Judaism eventually the religion of a Scripture.

Then the prophet, taking an ostrakon, or bit of broken pottery, draws pictures upon it—a city, walls, besiegers, and battering rams. As Micah got his crowd by wit, Ezekiel attracts by curiosity. A lightning sketch artist in the market place is sure to be observed and questioned. His warning of Jerusalem's fall can then be hurled at the audience.

The Plot Thickens.—Soon another problem faced both Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Zedekiah revolted. Previously he had been worried by Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Phoenicia all of whom had already revolted. Zedekiah feared retaliation if he refused to join them; he feared Nebuchadnezzar if he did. (Back of the tradition that Zedekiah made a trip to Babylon (Jer. 51:59) may lie the fact that he at first assured Nebuchadnezzar of fealty.) But a strong pro-Egyptian party existed in Jerusalem. In far-off Babylon even Ezekiel was aware of it. Psammetichus of Egypt had invaded Palestine in 590 B.C.[36] Zedekiah weakened.

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[36] Griffith, *Catalog of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, iii, Manchester, 1909. Grenfell and Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, i, 1906.

For Ezekiel, Zedekiah's revolt sets a definite task. He must prepare his countrymen for the worst. They must not blame Yahweh. The Jerusalem clique is running the nation to destruction. Nebuchadnezzar will finish the destruction next time. In a vision, Ezekiel is transported to Jerusalem, where he digs into the inner recesses of the temple and finds countrymen following the cult practices of former years.[37]

"See what they are doing? I'll show you worse than that!" is the climactic refrain of the angelic guide.

Voluminous but powerful is the arraignment of falling Judah. Yahweh has been gracious (Chap. 20). False prophets are deluding the government (Chap. 12-13). Exile is certain (Chap. 12). Judah is too evil to exist (Chap. 14). Jerusalem's record is black with crime and intrigue (Chap. 16). Zedekiah is a traitor (Chap. 17). Jerusalem is doomed (Chaps. 20, 22-24).

In the midst of this comes one of the difficult doctrines of the Bible. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel uses the sour grape proverb to indicate that each person bears his own responsibility (18:1-4). Then he assures his hearers that when a wicked man turns righteous his evil is cancelled and his life saved (vs. 21); but when the righteous man turns wicked, by the same law his former deeds cancel and he is endangered (vs. 24). Here is a man who sees that life is not a matter of bookkeeping, but of attitudes. The measure of a man at any given moment is not the sum total of past deeds but the spiritual state at that moment. "As a man thinketh, so is he."

Strange Gods.—The wide divergence between prophetic Yahwehism and popular faith is suggested by the discoveries of papyri dealing with a Jewish colony at Elephantine, in Egypt.[38] Necho may have used Hebrews in garrisons; Psammetichus II, likewise. Some may have fled to Egypt after 597 B.C. as they did again after 586 B.C. In any case, a colony was there with a temple to "Yahu the God of Heaven," but at least five other gods were reverenced also.[39] Many of the personal names have Egyptian deity elements. There is no evidence of centralization at Jerusalem; no clear evidence of a Pentateuch; and some confusion about the Passover ritual. One would almost think that Moses, Josiah, Deuteronomy, had never existed[40]—that the major development of the Bible as now known came years later, in the exile and after.

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[37] At Gezer a cave frieze was uncovered with various birds and animals, as also found on pottery objects, both at Gezer and Megiddo. The Ezekiel passage suggests a revival of old Palestinian cults. Significantly, the Septuagint, with its Egyptian background, omits reference to the "creepers and beasts" (8:10) so as not to antagonize Egyptian readers. The Image of jealousy probably referred to some sort of sacred pillar or cult object set up in the temple. The Tammuz cult went far back to the legend of Tammuz and Ashirta, queen of Aleppo. Tammuz was killed in a hunting accident, and Ashirta (the Babylonian Ishtar?) mourned him annually. From this grew up a fall-festival dying-god cult, especially popular with women. Such a practice among Hebrews evidenced foreign contamination. See Clay, *Origin of Biblical Tradition*, index.

WHAT COULD HAVE SAVED IT?

The Higher Patriotism.—With Judah rushing to doom, a most difficult task falls to Jeremiah. If he tells the truth he must do two things: criticize the government; and advise keeping faith with Babylon. It will open him to the charge of treason—"giving aid and comfort to an enemy." Previous troubles were as nothing compared to the misunderstanding and abuse he must now go through. He will be accused of pro-Babylonianism. The chauvinistic patrioteers will rave and arrest, while deep in his heart Jeremiah knows that the only true patriotism is that which conserves a national culture and fosters its spiritual destiny.

Jeremiah was the one enlightened patriot in Jerusalem. Hebrew culture and destiny were bound up with the

[38] Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrus-Urkunden aus Elephantine;* Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri from Assuan;* Sachau, *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka aus Elephantine;* Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.;* Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, Chap. XXI.

[39] Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine;* Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 604 ff.; among them were *Ishum-bethel, Anath-bethel and Anath-yahu,* the latter especially startling, combining a female consort with Yahweh! *Bethel* was an ancient Canaanite deity (Gen. 31:13).

[40] Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* II, suggest that this colony was originally made up of Israelites from Assyria, maybe during campaigns of Ashurbanipal. Such would be second-generation Samaritan exiles. They would be ignorant of many common Judean practices and events.

Yahweh faith and ideals. Who sat upon the throne mattered little. Kings and empires might go, but a great idea lives on. If Babylon did not rule, someone else would. If Nebuchadnezzar did not exact taxes, probably one of their own kings would. Blindly they were selling their souls for a tawdry materiality. It was unacceptable doctrine. Freedom, liberty, courage, valor, honor were too easily interpreted in the old terms of armies, battles, power, territory, and treasure. For a man to advise his country to submit to a foreigner was too much. No wonder they threw him down a well (Jer. 38:6)! No wonder the Babylonians themselves, misconstruing Jeremiah's message, ordered him specially cared for and protected when the city fell (Jer. 39:3 and 14).

The great drama speeds to conclusion. Again and again Zedekiah is warned. Yahweh himself will aid Babylon (Jer. 21:3-7). The false leaders are doomed (23:1-2 and 11-17). To emphasize the point, Jeremiah puts a heavy yoke upon his neck, then instructs the emissaries of Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Phoenicia who have come to inveigle Zedekiah into a league against Nebuchadnezzar, to go back and tell their petty masters that if they take on Babylon's yoke there will be peace and safety; if they rebel and line up with Hophra of Egypt, Babylon will descend like a whirlwind upon them.

Hananiah, probable leader of the anti-Babylon and pro-Egyptian faction, is somewhat of a dramatist also. Grabbing the symbolic yoke from Jeremiah's neck, he wrenches it apart with the words, "Even so will Yahweh break the yoke of Babylon!" Jeremiah counters with another prophecy, that the next yoke will be iron and that deluded Hananiah will die.[41]

Pious Chicanery.—In the midst of the siege, Hophra advanced into Palestine. The beleaguered city had tried to buy Yahweh's favor by a sudden pious release of slaves, according to the law of Deut. 15 (Jer. 34:8-9). As Hophra advanced, Nebuchadnezzar found it advisable to lift the siege of Jerusalem temporarily (Jer. 37:5). Immediately the slaves were rounded up again (Jer. 34:11). With scorching invective Jeremiah poured out his indignation, declaring that the Egyptian army would retreat, that Nebuchadnezzar would return, that so despicable was the whole episode that though only wounded Babylonians were left, by Yahweh's power even they would rise up to capture and burn Jerusalem!

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[41] The biblical narrative states that Hananiah died in the seventh month of that year. Did Jeremiah see in Hananiah a man given to outbursts of passion who was unable to stand the strain of these tense months or did Jeremiah's prophecy prey upon Hananiah's mind?

Worry.—Again and again Zedekiah seeks Jeremiah, often secretly. He is torn between warring factions. From the cistern he brings the prophet. "Is there any word from Yahweh?" Grimly mud-bespattered Jeremiah replies, "There is! You will be delivered to the Babylonians" (Jer. 37:16-20)! In the temple corridor again Zedekiah begs advice—which Jeremiah aptly declares will not be heeded. "Give yourself up to Babylon, and your life will be safe and this city preserved" (Jer. 38:14-22).

In this interim, Jeremiah attempted to settle his estate in Benjamin. As he started out of the city, Hananiah's grandson accused him of deserting to the Babylonians. The prophet hotly denied it, but was jailed anyway. It may be at this time also that cousin Hanamel sold Jeremiah his Anathoth field, one of the old family parcels. The prophet of doom was also the prophet of destiny. He knew that though the political state perished, religion would still make Palestine a strategic center. The world would go on after Jerusalem fell. So Jeremiah closed the deal for about twelve dollars, signed a deed, took witnesses, and told Baruch to bury the deed in a jar for a future day. It was good business and good drama.[42]

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[42] This descriptive incident is one of the important records of ancient business methods. Jer. 32 has a long section that is undoubtedly a later addition (Vs. 14 ff). But the nucleus of the tradition is probably historical. Jeremiah was evidently convinced that there was another chapter to the history of his people.

Finis.—Hophra retreated. Nebuchadnezzar returned to Jerusalem's siege. Edomite ghouls gathered to share the loot.[43] In the fourth month on the ninth day (586 B.C.) the wall of Jerusalem gave way (2 Kgs. 25). The poor starved defenders could not hold out. Zedekiah fled that night through the gate "between the walls"[44] in a desperate attempt to make the desert east of Jordan. At Jericho they caught him. Before the Babylonian torturer pierced his eyes, his sons were killed before him. Jeremiah had said that Zedekiah would go to Babylon but never see it!

If Jeremiah wrote any formal lamentations, it must have been at this time.[45] The book of Lamentations has at least three sections. Chapters 2 and 4 seem almost eye-witness dirges. On an ash-heap of the fallen city they could have been composed. Chapters 1 and 5 seem later, as a poet's speculation upon the terrible tragedy. Chapter 3 stands alone, late, philosophical in style, cold, yet filled with suggestive interpretations of calamity as it affects God's children. Jeremiah may have voiced his grief in the throbbing dirge:[46]

How God′ hath dark′ened in ang′er—the daugh′ter of Zi′on
He hath cast′ from heav′en to earth′—the beau′ty of Is′rael

Sunk′ to the ground′ are her gates′—bro′ken her bars′

Si′lent on earth′ sit the el′ders—of the daugh′ter of Zi′on
Dust′ they cast′ on their heads′—sack′cloth adorns′ them
With head′ bowed down′ to the earth′, are the daugh′ters of Jeru′salem

Must wo′men devour′ their off′spring—chil′dren belov′ed
Or proph′et and priest′ be slain′—within′ the shrine′
Strewn′ on the ground′ in the streets′—lie boys′ and men′
Young wo′men and no′ble young men′—are slain′ by the sword′

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[43] Obadiah poured vitriolic wrath upon these renegade relatives who thus robbed helpless brother Hebrews.

[44] See map No. 10. The gate marked "Fountain Gate" lies in an irregular section of wall, with part of the wall encircling on each side. The gate was "between." The path led to the Kidron valley whence they got onto the Jericho road.

[45] Jeremiah's connection with the book is only conjectural. He certainly did not write it all.

[46] Read in a five-beat, *qînâh* measure, three cadences plus two, with a break in the voice.

So ended eleven hectic years fraught with possibilities. Strenuous thinking by Jeremiah, Habakkuk and Ezekiel; chances for kings to mind their own affairs, keep their promises, and keep faith in God; chances to show what real patriotism means; chances to lift religion to the highest ethical monotheism; chances to make religion a life. Now through pain, sorrow, and heartbreak the goal would have to be achieved.

WHAT BECAME OF JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL?

A Governor's Fate.—Gedaliah, grandson of the powerful Shaphan, associated with Jeremiah in Josiah's day, was made governor. Nabû-zêr-iddina supervised the burning of the temple palace and ruining the wall. Surrounding towns, especially toward the Philistine plain, were razed. At one of these cities, Kiriath-Sepher, a small seal was found reading *le-Elyaqim na'ar Yaukin,* "Belonging to Eliakim, steward of Jehoiachin," mute evidence that during Zedekiah's fateful reign the crown property was still held in trust in the fond hope that eighteen-year-old Jehoiachin would some day return to his throne.[47] Gedaliah set up headquarters at ancient Mizpah where excavation has revealed his thick-walled, towered residence tight against the inner city wall.[48] His advice was to settle down, till the farms, and keep the peace. Three fourths of the population was still in Palestine. There was hope for the future.[49]

But Palestine could not settle down. Ishmael, of royal blood, and spurred by Baalis king of Ammon, planned murder. Johanan warned Gedaliah who thought the whole

[47] Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible,* 77 and 125.

He was released by Amêl-Marduk about 550 B.C. Jeremiah had written to the first captives that they would be exiled for a generation or more, seventy years. Again, he had purchased property and expressed faith in a rehabilitation of the nation. Gedaliah was expressing a similar conviction.

[48] Badè, *Excavations at Tell En-Nasbeh.* A seal of his son, Elishama, has been found depicting Yahweh as a long-robed, bearded, high-crowned god, brandishing a thunderbolt, and borne along on a ship. The prophetic concepts had not yet taken vital root in popular thinking.

[49] Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 225 ff., 1904. Jer. 52:29 indicates 832 captives deported, but such a figure must be multiplied by four or five to allow for women and children. There has been some tendency to minimize the whole captivity, as to numbers and importance, notably by Dr. C. C. Torrey of Yale.

affair preposterous. As a guest in Gedaliah's banquet room, Ishmael assassinated his host,[50] cut down the Babylonian bodyguard, herded the Mizpah residents, including the late king's daughters, toward Ammon. Johanan pressed him so hard that he deserted his prisoners and escaped to Ammon, and oblivion.

The Passing of Jeremiah.—Jeremiah now faced his final problem. Johanan and his little band were terrified. What would Nebuchadnezzar do? They consulted the prophet who advised calmness and quiet awaiting the investigation. By running away guilt would be admitted (Jer. 42:1-12). Nerves were too frayed however, and the leaders accused Jeremiah of lying and of being swayed by a pro-Babylonian Baruch. To Egypt they would go; protesting Jeremiah must go along.[51]

The last heard of Jeremiah (Chaps. 43-44) he is still protesting, still dramatizing. Nebuchadnezzar will find them, even in Egypt. Insultingly the women declare they will not listen; that when they worshipped Ashtoreth in Palestine they still had husbands; now worshipping Yahweh they are widows. The reasoning is not brilliant, but it shows how lightly the Yahweh faith might sit upon the Hebrew conscience.

"Therefore, in Egypt ye shall be consumed by sword and famine!" So Jeremiah passes from mortal view.

Ezekiel, 2d Period.—While all of this intricate unfolding of history goes on in Palestine, far off in Babylon Ezekiel changes the pattern of his work. Before the fall of Jerusalem he was the prophet of doom and an interpreter of the coming event. Now he becomes the sublime optimist and the pastor of a troubled flock of lost sheep. His words become kindly, hopeful. He is convinced that some day they will return. The exile is no sign that

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[50] The body was thrown down a cistern. Such a cistern would thus be polluted and sealed up. Later the body was removed and the cistern sealed. Badè uncovered such a sealed cistern at Mizpah which may well be the very pit down which the unfortunate Gedaliah was thrown. See Badè, *Excavations.*

[51] Johanan probably planned to flee to one of the Jewish colonies in Egypt, such as Tahpanhes, Memphis or Pathros. At Tahpanes are ruins of the *kasr bint el-Yehudi*, or Castle of the Jew's Daughter. See *Cambridge Ancient History,* IV, 107.

Marduk, god of Babylon, is above Yahweh; rather Yahweh is working out a plan. They must fit into Yahweh's plan by keeping themselves peculiarly a holy people, a sort of priestly nation, with a mission.

True Holiness.—The plan involved the idea of a holy nation. The Hebrew concept of *qodesh*, "holiness," revolved around the idea of "unblemished" hence "complete."[52] Only complete, unblemished animals could be offered; only healthy men could serve as priests. The holy object was set apart, but its holiness was not in the tabu; rather it was a quality that made it different. Naturally temple vestments, vessels and precincts were reverenced, but applied to human life the "holiness" was a perfection of life according to the God-will.[53]

Thus a perfect nation, of perfectly righteous folk, worshipping in a perfectly designed temple through a perfectly planned ritual, setting a perfect standard of conduct —all for an imperfect world to see, admire, desire, and ultimately appropriate! Whoever dreamed this dream, an historical Ezekiel or not, caught the vision of a spiritual challenge that shines through the symbolic, legalistic, involved language of the book. He spoke for God. It is true prophecy.

High Lights.—Ezek. 29:1-16. Hophra of Egypt is doomed at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. (This prophecy was probably delivered just before Jerusalem fell, during the time the siege was lifted.) Ezekiel in Babylon knows Babylon's power. Egypt will be ravaged and lie waste forty years. (Actually, this was not literally true. Egypt's history has no such break.)

33:10. The popular concept that all hope is gone. Their sins are recognized, but considered fatal to any further national life.

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[52] This is the *teleios* of the New Testament. Completeness, physical and spiritual, is the essence of the biblical doctrine of life. It has the advantage of being usable and understandable by man or woman, boy or girl.

[53] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, i, 271; *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1929. Finkelstein notes that even an injured ear disqualified a priest. "Incomplete," he could not serve.

33:11. Yahweh does not punish for revenge, but for correction. He is not a hating, but a caring, directing Deity.

34:11-16. This might be called a prose version of the twenty-third psalm.

35:1-15. An indictment of the Edomites.

37:1-14. Ezekiel's ghost story. He sees a valley full of bones, very dry, hence long dead. Can they live? As a true priest Ezekiel respectfully answers his shadowy guide, "Thou knowest." The point is that by God's power even the dead can live. There is movement,—rustling,—bone fits to bone,—flesh and sinew forms,—they rise,—they stand,—an embattled host. So Yahweh can resurrect Israel! It is highly symbolic, dramatic, and the central theme of Ezekiel's message to his sorrowing countrymen.

37:15-28. A difficult passage. Ezekiel evidently expects that both Israel and Judah will eventually join in a rehabilitated nation in Palestine.

38-39. Yahweh will achieve ultimate victory over every heathen power. These powers are expressed in symbolic names, some of which are now almost untraceable. Suggested identifications are:[54]

Gog—Gyges of Lydia, called *Gugu* in Assyrian records
Meshach and Tubal—countries north of Syria
Rosh—unknown. Not Russia, and scarcely the Rosh on the Elamite border.
Paras—Probably the *Parsua* of Assyrian records
Gomer—Assyrian *Gumur*, a Cimmerian people near the Black Sea.

40-48. Specifications for the perfect temple, ritual and conduct. Some think this was worked out about 572 B.C., as the crowning effort of the priest-prophet. The concept of holiness is carried throughout and it is closely related to the so-called Holiness Code traceable in Leviticus. Ezekiel is sometimes looked upon as the father of legalistic Judaism.[55]

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[54] See Kent, *Students Old Testament*, IV, 312 and note.

[55] Consult Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, Chap. V; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, Ezekiel, index; Eiselen, *Prophetic Books of the Old Testament*, II, Chap. VII.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Does trouble intensify or minimize your religion?
2. Is Deuteronomy too ideal?
3. Does a righteous issue justify war?
4. Can all of man's questions be answered by observation?
5. If Habakkuk was right, do you like such a philosophy of life?
a. What gives a law its authority?
b. Can teachers overcome home environment?
c. Could our religionists of today write better laws than the politicians?
d. Would it be a better world if God kept righteous people from harm?
e. Is doubt a sin or sign of wavering faith?
f. Would you like to live in a world that guaranteed material rewards?

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6. Have you ever prayed for other nations?
7. Is our nation keeping its ethical standards?
8. Do you get discouraged over politics?
9. Do the strongest nations survive?
10. Why does material progress come faster than spiritual progress?
11. Is honesty the best policy?
12. Can one be successful without interfering with others?
g. What is true patriotism?
h. Are the people fit to rule?
i. Should a disadvantageous treaty be kept?
j. What nations are probably the most stable today?
k. Is it right to criticize the government?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Ancient Codes. (Baikie, LAE, VIII; Barton, AB, Pt. II, XIII-XVI; Cooke, NSI, pp. 112, 123, 320; Kent, ILLP, bibliog., p. 280; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 385 ff.)
2. Deuteronomic ideals compared with modern legislation. (Kent, ILLP; STPJ, IV; Longacre, DPL.)
3. The growth of Israel's law. (Eiselen, BP, XVII; Kent, GCOT, pp. 164-204; ILLP Introd.; Smith, OHHL.)
a. Necho's policy in Palestine. (Barton, AB, p. 439; Breasted, HE; Hall, AHNE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, pp. 414, 424, 429-437, 455 ff.)
b. Excavations at Carchemish. (Hall, AS; Hogarth, AA and KH in Schweich Lectures, q.v.; Hogarth-Woolley, C.)
c. The Mediterranean world at the close of the 7th century B.C. (Breasted, AT; HE; Cambridge Ancient History; Olmstead, HA; HPS; Rogers, HBA; Wells, OH.)

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4. The Neo-Babylonian empire. (Breasted, AT; Cambridge Anc. Hist.;

Dougherty, NB; SAA, with bibliog.; Goodspeed, HBA; Langdon, BINBE; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, I; Rogers, HBA.)

d. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. (See *4* and *6*, especially Camb. Anc. Hist.; Dougherty; Oesterley and Robinson; and Rogers, CPOT; HBA; Encyclopedic sources.)

e. The sealand dynasties. (Dougherty, NB; SAA; Godbey, LTM; Smith, EHA, pp. 360 ff., 362 ff.)

f. The researches and theories of R. P. Dougherty. (Dougherty, see *e* above; also AETN, CPSPS, SAR, SBD; AJSL, XLVI, No. 2, p. 73; AJA, XXXI, No. 2, pp. 153-159; XXXIV, No. 3, p. 246; JAOS, XLII, pp. 305-316; L, No. 1, pp. 1-25; JBL, XLIX, pp. 160 ff.; Mizraim, I, pp. 140 ff.)

g. Ancient real estate law and practice. (Barton, AB; Hilprecht and Clay, BDMS, in U. of Pa. Series A, IX, X; Hinke, NBSN; Johns, ADD; Kent, ILLP, pp. 68-74; Luckenbill, ABR; Rogers, CPOT.)

h. Possible writings in Ezekiel's day. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 264; Barton, AB; Bewer, LOT, XII; Booth, BB, pp. 104 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT; Kent, ILLP; MTJ, pp. 1-37; Rogers, CPOT; Trattner, UBB, pp. 121 ff.)

i. Archaeological investigations of the temple mount in Jerusalem. (Albright, APB; Barton, AB; Bliss, EJ; Macalister, CEP, bibliog., p. 327.)

j. The authorship of Ezekiel. (Albright, in JBL, LI, p. 77; Berry, in JBL, LI, p. 54; Bewer, LOT; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, VII; Kent, SEAIP; Smith, BPE; Torrey, PE, and in JBL, LI, p. 159; Toy, in Int'l Crit. Comm., q.v.; Abingdon Comm.)

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5. The settlement at Mizpah. (Albright, APB, index "Mizpah" and "Tell en-Nasbeh"; Badè, ETN, STTN; Barton, HHB; Kent, BGH, index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, i; Olmstead, HPS, p. 527; Encyclopedic sources, "Gedaliah," "Mizpah"; Bull. ASOR, 1926 to date; Bull. Pacific School of Rel., Palestine Inst., 1926 to date.)
6. The Chaldeans. (Dougherty, op. cit.; Godbey, LTM, pp. 571 ff., 621 ff.; Luckenbill, ABR, vol. I, p. 566; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, Index; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc., "Chaldea"; Hastings, DB.)
7. Pharaoh Hophra's activities in Palestine. (Barton, AB, pp. 33, 39; Breasted, HE; Calkins, JP, index "Egypt"; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, pp. 298 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 438, vol. II, pp. 11, 34; Olmstead, HPS, p. 525; Petrie, EI, pp. 88-93.)
8. The Tammuz cult. (Clay, OBT, index; Langdon, SM; Lods, I, index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vols. I and II, index; Olmstead, index; Reinach, O, p. 43.)
9. Roads and trade routes across Arabia. (Godbey, LTM, index "Caravan Roads," "Trade Routes"; Kent, BGH, IX; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index "Trade Routes," and p. 23; Olmstead, HPS.)
10. The University of Pennsylvania's Expeditions in Babylonia. (Albright, APB, p. 39; Barton, AB, p. 57; Hilprecht, BB; EBL; Bab. Exped. of the U. of Pa., vols. I-XX.)

CHAPTER VIII

INSTRUCTIONS

1. From collateral sources, collect a list of suggested causes and results of the exile; compare this with the modern view of the limited extent of the exile. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXIII; McCown, GSG, pp. 88, 99, 268; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 453, vol. II, chaps. III-V; Smith, OTH; Torrey, PE.)
2. Study particularly the growth of scribism, legalism and the literary activities of this period. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 264-265; Bewer, LOT; Kent, GCOT; Kohler, OSC; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, p. 325, vol. II, pp. 129, 137 ff., 167, 297 ff., 411; Olmstead, HPS, XXXIX; Smith, OHHL; Smith, OTH, p. 434; Trattner, UBB, pp. 145 ff.; Wild, EHP, index; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Jewish Enc.)

a. Read up on archaeological evidence of deported Hebraic colonies, both Assyrian and Babylonian; note the tendency of modern scholarship to place greater emphasis upon the Palestinian Jews. (Barton, AB; Cook, in AJTh., q.v.; Cowley, AP; Feldman, YJ; Godbev, LTM; Hoonacker, in Schweich Lects., 1914; Smith in Bib. Wld., June, 1908.)

b. Study the development of the Medo-Persian empire, the person and work of Cyrus. Read the story of his taking of Babylon as told in contemporary inscriptions; note the organization of the empire. (Breasted, AT; Camb. Anc. Hist.; Rogers, HAP; Thorndike, SHC; Encyclopedic sources inc. Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

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3. Prepare outline for Haggai and Zechariah. (Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, pp. 541 ff.; Kent, KPIJ; SEAIP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, VIII; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 561-571.)

c. Follow the Persian history beyond 516 B.C. to round out the complete historical setting for this episode. (Breasted, AT; Kent, MTJ; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vols. II, VI; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 571-575; Rogers, HAP.)

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4. Continue survey of Persian history, especially activities in Palestine and Asia Minor, to 450 B.C. (Breasted, AT, VI; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 89 ff.; Rogers, HAP; Rostovtzeff, HAW; Wells, OH.)

5. Read up on possible historical background of some of the psalms. If sources are available, list such psalms as have been attributed to these years of disappointment. (Bewer, LOT, XX; Driver, ILOT, pp. 382-389; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 53, 54, 72 ff.; McFadyen, MP, pp. 22-25, 155-171, 382-389.)

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6. Take up the materials of Isaiah 40-66. Write down all references to the Servant and Anointed and compare with Haggai and Zechariah; now write down all the characteristics and functions of the Servant. (Driver, ILOT, pp. 230 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, pp. 208 ff.; Kent, GCOT, pp. 124 ff.; Knudson, BLP, pp. 143 ff.; McCown, GSG, index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, IX; Olmstead, HPS, p. 548; Torrey, SI.)

d. Consider carefully the arguments on date and authorship of Isaiah 40-60; note particularly the theories of Torrey and compare with older works. (See No. 6 above, esp. Torrey.)

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7. Outline Obadiah, filling in the four- or six-fold outline as far as possible; little is known about the man and the problem is simple. (Driver, ILOT, p. 318; Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II, pp. 430 ff.; Kent, SEAIP; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 579 ff.; Robinson, SAC, pp. 436 ff.; Sanders and Kent, MLP, pp. 63-71.)

8. Prepare the standardized outline for Malachi. Keep this in mind as an introduction to Nehemiah (Driver, ILOT, pp. 355 ff.; Eiselen, PBOT; Kent, SEAIP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 108 ff.; Olmstead, HPS, XL; Sanders and Kent, MLP, pp. 240-251; Smith, OTH, pp. 361-362.)

e. Compare Obadiah and Lamentations, Chs. 1 and 5. (Eiselen, PBOT, vol. II; POSW; Kent, SHPOT; SEAIP.)

f. Read up on the Nabateans and their conquests; study the topography of this extreme southern country; note possible routes north into Judah. (Barton, AB; Cooke, NSI; Dougherty, SAA; Godbey, LTM; Lods, I; Robinson, SAC; Smith, HGHL.)

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9. Now go back and review until you can see a cause-effect progression of events culminating in a supreme idea. (Cf. Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 283-285, and Torrey, SI, pp. 67-76.)

g. Sketch the intervening Persian history, Cyrus to Darius. Read data on the discovery, decipherment and significance of the Rock of Behintun and its records. (Breasted, AT; Camb. Anc. Hist.; King and Thompson, SID; Mills, AP; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 547-559; Rogers, HAP.)

h. Prepare a separate list of the messianic ideas; this list to be augmented as data accumulate. (McCown, GSG; Silver, MSI; Torrey, SI; Wallis, MCP; Jl. Bib. Lit., XXXVI, pp. 158 ff.; XXXIX, pp. 24 ff.; XLV, pp. 232 ff.

i. Read up on the Jewish high priesthood, its traditional origin, post-exilic aspects and functions. (Cheyne, JRLAE; Ewald, HI, V, pp. 268-274; Godbey, LTM, index "High Priest"; Graetz, HJ; Kent, MTJ, p. 142; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vols. I and II, indexes; Smith, OTH, index; Wild, EHP, index; Abingdon Comm.; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

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Note: From here on, observe two main historical divisions: Nehemiah to Alexander's conquest; and the early Greek period.

10. Read the book of Nehemiah with a view to enjoyment of the story and acquaintance with the character; compare with excerpts in text. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXV; Bewer, LOT, pp. 280 ff., 302; Eiselen, POSW, XII; McFadyen, MPPH, V-VI; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index, esp. pp. 118 ff.)
11. Study carefully the problem of date; also the discussion concerning Ezra. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 281 ff., 285 ff., 301 ff.; Driver, ILOT, pp. 540 ff.; Eiselen, POSW, p. 295; Kent, GCOT, pp. 77 ff.; McFadyen, IOT, p. 342; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 114-117; Torrey, CHVEN, pp. 57-62; ES, pp. 238-248.)
12. Study the Samaritan schism and the relation between the two Jewish bodies today. (Barton, AB, p. 134; Gaster, S; Kent, MTJ, pp. 143-145; Montgomery, S; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 152-158; Smith, OTH, p. 399; Tomson, S; Whiting, in Nat'l Geog., XXXVII, No. 1, p. 1.

j. Look up archaeological data concerning walls of Jerusalem and indicate on outline map those of Nehemiah's day. (Albright, APB, p. 188; Barton, AB, Pt. I, XIII; Kent, BGH, pp. 202-206; Macalister, CEP, pp. 100, 124, index and bibliog. "Jerusalem"; Olmstead, HPS, XIX; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc. "Jerusalem"; Palestine Exploration Fund, statements.)

k. Read excerpts from some one of the world's famous diaries.

l. Review the data on Jewish colonies at Yeb or Elephantine and also the relations of Persia with Palestine and Egypt. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 292 et passim; Barton, AB, XXI; Godbey, LTM; Kent; BGH, pp. 195-196; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vols. I and II; Olmstead, HPS, XLI; Smith, in Bib. Wld., June, 1908; see above instruction *a*, and *k* chap. VII.)

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13. Outline Joel, filling in standardized form as far as data will allow. (See Bewer, Eiselen, Driver, Kent, Oesterley and Robinson, Smith; Dinsmore, EBL, p. 236.)
14. Compare Joel's figures of imagery with those of Zephaniah; familiarize yourself with the nature and purpose of apocalyptic literature. Booth, BB, p. 137; BBT, pp. 14, 143-147; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 274-275; Kent, GCOT, pp. 152, 154; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II,

pp. 304, 319-321; Wild, EHP, p. 250; LGB, p. 202; Encyclopedic sources on "Apocalyptic.")

m. Note the evidences of remaining polytheism among the Jews. (Cheyne, JRAE; Davidson, OTT; Fowler, OGHR; Lods, I, index; Loisy, RI; Smith, OTH, p. 261; Trattner, AG; Encyclopedic references.)

n. Start a list of the concepts of the Kingdom of God, adding details from ensuing studies. (See McCown, GSG, index.)

o. Give special attention to problems and solutions that fit modern conditions. (Coffin, PM; Hunter, SP; Kent, STPJ; Krutch, MT; McCown, GSG; Wallis, SSB.)

PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

WHAT WAS THE EXILE?

Extent.—Primarily the exile was caused by the inevitable march of world history, plus Hebrew apostasy and obtuseness. According to the biblical figures, the number of deported Judeans[1] was not large. From one point of view, there was no such thing as a general exile.[2] Yet some sort of Jewish element entered Babylonian life. Among

Iddo's tablet, executed and witnessed in a "city of bondmen." Could this refer to a Hebrew colony? Tablet now in private collection of the author.
Note Hebrao-Aramaic characters scratched on edge of document.

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[1] See note 49, chap. VII.

[2] Note references to and works of Dr. C. C. Torrey, *Second Isaiah*, 48; *Ezra Studies*, 285-307.

Babylonian tablets[3] at the University of Southern California are two executed in the "City of Bondmen."[4] One of the documents contains names that sound quite Jewish, and has a filing clerk's notation scratched upon one end in the Hebraic alphabet.[5] Nevertheless, this Babylonian exile, large or small, became a central theme of subsequent Jewish thought, and it was looked upon as a molding factor in religious life.[6] A sinful nation had worked out its sentence in captivity; a pardoned nation began to look for new blessings.

A Literary Heritage.—The first deportation, 597 B.C., settled at Tell Abib, by the Great Canal[7] east of Babylon. Here a captive could brood (Ps. 137):

> By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept,
> When we remembered Zion.
> Upon the willows about us we hanged our harps;
> For our captors demanded songs
> Our despoilers commanded mirth:
> "Sing us one of your Zion Ballads!"
> How can we sing a Yahweh song
>   In a foreign land![8]

A priest might sorrowfully recall his office (Ps. 42-43):[9]

> As a hart yearns for the water brooks[10]
> So yearneth my soul for thee, O God.

. . . .

> These things I remember, and fret my soul in silence;
> How I went with the throng and led them

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[3] In the M. M. Welch collection.

[4] Published by the author in the *Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences*, May 1933. Compare also Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashu Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes*, I, 27; Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, 45 and note.

[5] The name was *Id-di-ia* (Hebrew Iddo?). The filing notation was *le-'Adi*, "belonging to Iddo," *i.e.*, Iddo's tablet.

[6] Especially by the Chronicler and later Judaism.

[7] The *Nâr Kabari* (river Chebar, Ez. 1:1, 3) left the Euphrates at Babylon, passed through Nippur and rejoined the river. The name is found on contract tablets.

[8] This seems almost a reflection of the popular idea of a localized Yahweh, back in Palestine. Ezekiel opposed such an idea.

[9] Ps. 42-43 were originally one song. Duhm considered it a composition of or for Onias III, a priest driven from office by Scopas, in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes. Kent, *Songs, Hymns and Prayers of the Old Testament*, 184, note, ascribes it to the time of the first captivity, just after 597 B.C.

[10] As in western United States, a desert *wady* may carry water for part of the year only. Water lies often below the surface, but a thirsting animal might pant for it in vain.

To the House of God
With shout of joy and praise, a multitude
In Holy procession.

Another, priest or layman, might vehemently assert (Ps. 84):

In thy courts one day is worth a thousand;
I had rather be a beggar at the portals
Than to dwell amidst heathen luxury.[11]

Such hymns of heartbreak and faith were gathered eventually into a collection of hymns for use by guilds of temple singers and finally incorporated in the five-fold hymn book of Judaism, the book of Psalms.

Importance.—The 586 B.C. colony must have enjoyed a certain religious and social freedom, though probably restricted in movement. They engaged in business and amassed wealth.[12] But national life was crushed out. Babylonian exiles and Palestinian peasantry were poor materials for empire building.

Whether or not the Babylonian Jews were chiefly responsible, later Jewish history and Judaism took on definite aspects:

1. The state was eliminated; political machinations were less prominent.
2. Religion became the focal point; righteousness, the topic of speculation.
3. Yahweh ceased to be a local deity; he was not only the greatest God but the One True God.
4. Individual responsibility was emphasized.
5. Prophetic activity was no longer concerned chiefly with baalism and social evils; its interest became literary and doctrinal.
6. The Messianic hope was stimulated.
7. There was less interest in statesmanship; more in Jewish destiny, divine vengeance upon the heathen, and interpretation of writings.

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[11] See note to vs. 10 in margin of Revised Version. The reference is not to a doorkeeper, but to the beggar lying at the threshold. The psalmist prefers such a state to the "tents of wickedness." The revision is supported by the Septuagint and the Latin versions.

[12] Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* II, 44.

8. Greater emphasis was placed upon written works, or "Scripture."
9. Groups of interpreters, scribes, teachers and rabbis arose.
10. A style of religious school was developed, the synagogue, with worship, reading, and discussion of writings.

Two Possibilities.—The break-up of state and temple service and wider contact with the Gentiles opened up two possibilities. One was that Judaism would become an understanding, sympathetic, universal faith serving all mankind by bringing the light of true religion to decadent heathendom. The second was that, like a lonely immigrant, Judaism would seek its own kind, keep its own customs, become ever more particularistic and legalistic, widening the chasm between itself and the rest of the world. The spirit of prophetism dictated the first course, but later Judaism often followed the second.

WHO RETURNED?

Cyrus the Persian.—When in 538 B.C. Cyrus took over the Babylonian empire, Babylon had been declining. Upon Nebuchadnezzar's death Amel-Marduk had succeeded to the throne. He it was who had removed Jehoiachin from prison where he had languished for thirty-five years (2 Kgs. 25:27-30). The ex-king was now a man of fifty-three, and of little use to the stricken Jews. Amel-Marduk lasted two years; his murderer, Nergal-sharezer, four; Labashi-Marduk, his son, a few months. One more murder put Nabonidus on the throne. Four kings and two revolutions in six years!

Nabonidus was somewhat of an antiquarian, interested in temple excavation and reconstruction as well as government. Far out in Arabia he maintained elaborate headquarters at Têmâ,[13] a promising unexcavated site. He shared rulership with his son, Belshazzar, as documents have been found where father and son jointly are included in the official oath.[14] Some such situation lies back of the Belshazzar story in the book of Daniel.

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[13] Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 84, 88; Dougherty, *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia;* "A Babylonian City in Arabia," in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXIV,

According to tradition, Cyrus was welcomed in Babylon, the city being taken without a struggle. The new ruler was lenient, among other things issuing an edict which removed restraint from subject peoples, including the Jews. A long passage in the book of Ezra purports to be a copy of the decree, but it comes from late sources colored with strong Jewish bias,—and Jewish idioms![15]

The So-Called Return.—Whatever the details, it seems certain that Jews began to drift back to Palestine. The number was probably not great; and certainly there was no magnificent organized expedition with banners and trumpets. The concept of a wholesale exile and a wholesale return to build the temple and to set up the Law is largely the glorified picture drawn by the writer of Chronicles and the Ezra-Nehemiah scroll. But there were Jews in and about Jerusalem. There were returned expatriates. The temple was in ruins. The colony was struggling with economic and social problems. Could God's favor be secured?

In 520 B.C. the time was ripe. Cambyses, Cyrus' half-crazed successor, had ended an adventure in Egypt by rushing home to check a pretender to the throne, Gaumata, who passed himself off as Cambyses' brother Bardiya, whom Cambyses had carefully murdered to avoid complications. En route Cambyses died of a thigh wound, incurred by a fall from his horse. Darius was next of kin. Just how long it took him to secure his throne is debatable, for on the famous Rock of Behistun he lists nine

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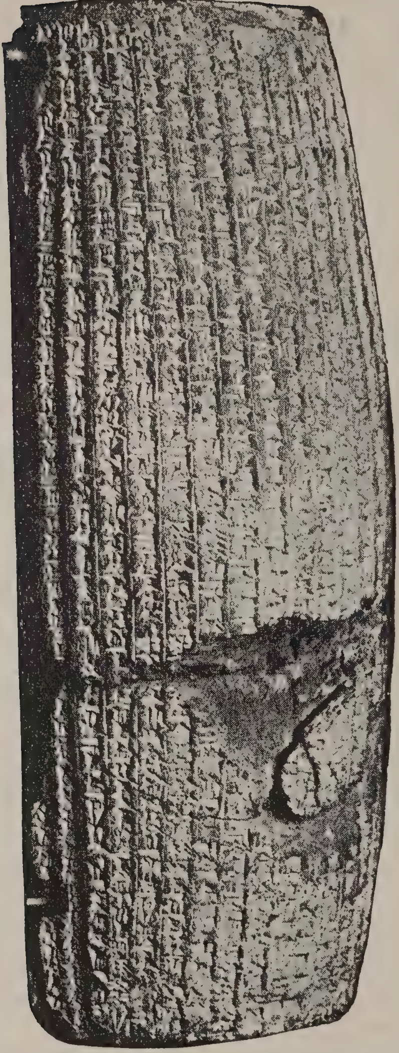
1930, No. 3, 296-312; Dougherty, "Têmâ's Place in the Egypto-Babylonian World of the Sixth Century B.C.," *Mizraim*, I, 1933, p. 140.

[14] Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, 96; and *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia;* Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, January, 1926, 27, Pl. I; Knopf, "Belshazzar and His Father," in *Bulletin of Southern California Academy of Sciences*, May 1933.

[15] See Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, II, 74-75.



Portion of a Baked Clay Cylinder of Cyrus,
King of Babylonia, about 538–529 B.C.

(From a Photograph.)

Inscribed in the Babylonian character, with an account of his conquest of Babylonia, and of the chief events of his reign in that country. Cyrus attributes his success to the gods Marduk, Bel, and Nebo. Now in the British Museum.

rebels. Some think that he quelled these revolts quickly,[16] or within a couple of years at most.[17]

A tablet from ancient Nippur contains a business record and a date that has a possible reading "the second year of *Ku-šat-ra-aš*, king of countries."[18] If this King is the rebel Mede, Khshatrita, then certainly the Persian empire was in uproar for two years or more, with Palestine probably left to its own devices. Such a situation would be a perfect setting for two interesting prophets, the temple builders, the first practical Zionists, Haggai and Zechariah.

Seal on edge of tablet dated either in reign of Ku-kur-ra-aš (Cyrus), or Ku-šat-ra-aš, the Median rebel. If the latter is meant, it tallies with the situation revealed by Haggai and Zechariah. (In University of Southern California Collection.)

Minor Prophets.—If prophets are to be measured by the length of their recoverable manuscripts, then there are as many *minors* as the present English Bible indicates. Most of the prophets are major, great thought leaders.

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[16] *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 176, 181; Maspero, *History of Egypt*, IX, 174. *Cf.* Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia.*

[17] King and Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia.*

[18] The writer has given a complete discussion of this tablet and the possible reading in the May issue, 1933, of the *Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences.* The document is in the M. M. Welch collection, University of Southern California.

Haggai and Zechariah come nearer fulfilling the minor concept, yet they must be honored for what they dreamed and accomplished.

Persia was seething; Darius was busy. It was a splendid time for Jewish minds to toy with the idea of a restored Jewish state, with a prince of the house of David upon the throne, an Anointed One or Messianic king.[19] The Palestinian Jews were not in the best of condition economically. The temple ruins still lay gaunt upon Zion's hill.

Haggai and Zechariah.—With fine enthusiasm, Haggai singles out Zerubbabel[20] as the royal scion to be the Anointed leader, the Servant of Yahweh, in reviving His people. The people cannot expect prosperity (Hag. 1:6) while they live in good houses (Hag. 1:4), refusing to rebuild (Hag. 1:2) the ruined temple (Hag. 1:4). The new temple can be made the center of world hope (Hag. 2:7). Nations are now in turmoil, Hag. 2:22. (Does this refer to Darius, Persia, and the many rebels?) Yahweh is shaking heavens and earth. A new day dawns.

Climactically, Haggai points to Zerubbabel:

> I will make thee, O Zerubbabel, MY SERVANT;
> A seal ring;[21] For I have chosen thee.

Zechariah, within two months, joins the movement. Not by might or power (Persian armies or royal decrees), but by Yahweh's spirit will the new kingdom be established (Zech. 4:6). Mountains of difficulty will be leveled[22] (Zech. 4:7).

> "Look high priest Joshua, you and your associates (Zech. 3:8)
> I am about to designate MY SERVANT, the branch" (of the Davidic house).

At last the day comes. A crown is made to place upon

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[19] "Messiah" is from the Hebrew verb *mašaḫ*, meaning "to rub over" or "anoint" with oil, hence to select, set apart for special purpose, enthrone, *etc.*

[20] This is a Babylonian name, *Zêr-Bâbili,* made up of three elements, *zêru,* "offspring," *bâbu,* "gate," and *ilu,* "god," hence "Offspring of the Gate of God." It is obvious also that Babylon signifies "Gate of God."

[21] The instrument that assured the operation of a king's decree.

[22] The figure of leveled-down mountains and valleys filled up to make an easy highway is later used in Isaiah 40:4.

Zerubbabel's head.[23] He is to build the temple, and rule upon the ancestral throne. Dramatically this man points to Zerubbabel, as Haggai has done, and definitely identifies him:

> Behold a man whose name is *Zemaḫ* (Branch).

It is quite clear that Haggai and Zechariah believe that Zerubbabel is none other than the Anointed of David's line, Messiah, the destined Branch.[24]

Songs of Zion.—The temple dedication demanded gorgeous ceremony and fitting choruses. Hymns were composed that became a part of the repertoire of temple singers' guilds. There can be no dogmatic selection of the exact poems, but *hallel* or praise psalms, thanksgiving psalms, and processionals must have been included in compositions of the time[25] (Ps. 126).

> When Yahweh restoreth prosperity to Zion
> We are like those who have been dreaming
> Our mouths are filled with laughter
> And our tongues with singing.

Into the new temple Yahweh would gladly enter. Streams of celebrants and antiphonal choruses gaily chanted (Ps. 24).

> *Chorus outside*
>
> Who may ascend into the hill of Yahweh
> Who may stand in His holy place
>
> *Chorus inside*
>
> He that hath clean hands and a pure heart
> Who hath not sworn falsely

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[23] The Biblical text here designates Joshua, the high priest. The plural "crowns" is obviously impossible; Joshua had only one head! R. V. margin gives singular, "crown," following the Septuagint. Either Joshua was to accept the crown *pro tem*, or the original text read "Zerubbabel." So Kent, *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 333. See Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 346 and note.

[24] Whether he *was* all of that is beside the point. The Bible record is perfectly clear. Later Christian theology might see the Christ in these terms, as a tenet of faith, but Haggai and Zechariah are very definite in whom *they* think the Messiah to be.

[25] See Peters, "A Jerusalem Processional," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1920, XXXIX, Pt. 1 and 2, 52.

Without

Lift up your heads O ye gates
And be ye lifted up ye ancient doors
And the King of Glory shall come in

Within

Who is this King of Glory

Without

The Lord strong and mighty
The Lord mighty in battle.

Psalm 136 with its recurrent refrain sung by the assembled worshippers has much the same psychology as an old English round or a Negro spiritual, piling up simple ideas in an ascending scale of emotional rhythm.

Disappointment.—Here was an abortive attempt to set up a Messianic kingdom, with a prince of the house of David upon the throne. It is easy to see why it was attempted. It is likewise understandable that when Darius finally settled matters in the east and could give attention to Mediterranean provinces, this incipient revolt would be scotched. Probably the whole Jewish aim was primarily religious, yet political results could easily have ensued. Whatever the details, a curtain of ominous silence drops over Haggai, Zechariah and Zerubbabel. Nothing more is heard of them. Only upon the temple mount stands the result of their work, a new temple,—small, poor by comparison with Solomon's edifice,—a pitiful but significant crystallization of Jewish hopes. It could focus a new epoch in Jewish history.

Back of the veil of incomplete records that shrouds the aftermath of Zerubbabel's crowning pulsates a chorus of psalmists' voices that cry in a minor key. The great hope had died at birth. The years of disappointment had produced heartache, but some of the noblest prayers of supplication and faith in the Bible were the result. From a stricken soul came a poem, The Cry of the Supreme Sufferer[26] (Ps. 22):

My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?
Why so far from my wailing?
By day I call, but thou answerest not;
And all through the night, but there is no rest.

In thee our fathers trusted,
They trusted and thou didst deliver them.

Whoever seeth me laughs,
They sneer as they wag the head;
"He trusted in Yahweh! Let Him help!
Let Him save him, since he delights in Him!"

Robbed (vs. 16), stripped (vs. 18), bound (vs. 16), and derided (vs. 17), the nation and the individual Jew of the time felt that Yahweh had forsaken His people.[27]

In a similar vein another poet could sing (Ps. 44):

O Yahweh, with our ears we have heard,
Our fathers have told us
The work which Thou didst in their days;

But Thou hast cast off and dishonored us,
And goest not forth with our hosts.

Though all this has come down upon us,
Yet we have not forgotten Thee,
Neither have we dealt falsely with Thy covenant.

Rise up for our help,
And redeem us for Thy kindness sake.

Great suffering was mellowing, sensitizing, and developing the souls of these great religionists.[28]

WHO WAS THE GREAT UNKNOWN?

Two Books in One.—In these dark years like a meteor there flashed across the sky the most brilliant mind of prophecy. A casual reading of the book of Isaiah shows a break at chapter forty. The Isaiah ben-Amoz of 700 B.C. with his denunciation and critical analysis of contemporary problems gives place to a Voice of comfort announcing that Israel has suffered, that her sin is pardoned, that she has received a double measure of punishment (Isa. 40). Certainly this is a far different situation than existed in the eighth century. It reflects the broken Hebrew state, possible exile, and suffering.

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[26] Title suggested by Kent, *Songs, Hymns and Prayers of the Old Testament,* 212.

[27] The "I" of the psalmists may as often refer to the nation in general as well as to the poet himself. See Smend, "Über das Ich der Psalmen," in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1888, 49.

[28] For additional psalms of the period, see Ps. 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 17, 54, 55, 69. Also *cf.* Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings,* 64.

Many suggestions have been advanced in explanation. Ancient writings were not on numbered pages; it would be possible for noble poetic prophecy *like* Isaiah's to become part of a complete Isaiah scroll. There might have been an Isaiah Guild of prophetic writers. There could easily be more than one man named "Isaiah." Many favor the latter idea, hence they call the author of Isa. 40-66 The Great Unknown, The Master Mind of the Exile, or the Second (Deutero-) Isaiah.

He was probably a Palestinian. Many of his references to suffering could typify Babylonian captives, but the Judean remnant suffered as much or more. The prophet's interest is centered in Judah, Zion, and their destiny.[29]

A New Voice.—The historical background of this writer is a time after Haggai and Zechariah had made their abortive attempt to set up a Messianic kingdom and to crown Zerubbabel as God's Servant. Now a master mind must reinterpret SERVANT in spiritual terms; he must tell what a servant of God is like.

The ancient world looked askance on labor. Work was the badge of inferiority; it was for slaves. The Jews were a submerged class, whether in Palestine or Babylon, provincials, vassals, servants of their Persian masters. To the popular mind this meant the end of the road, the frustration of destiny, the dimming of glory, the curse of God. Somebody must reinterpret SERVICE.

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[29] Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, 31; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Maynard, "Home of Deutero-Isaiah, XXXVI, Pt. 3 and 4, 213; Buttenwieser, "Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?", XXXVIII, Pt. 2 and 3, 94.

Catching up the popular conception of service as servitude, this Deutero-Isaiah fairly crams it down the throats of protesting countrymen. He converts their cry of despair into a song of hope. They are servants, servants to Yahweh and to the world. Service, far from being the brand of a slave is the badge of honor. To be a servant is to be the greatest thing in the world. Israel is just that, servant, hence in a position outranking all others. Zerubbabel as Yahweh's servant had been insufficient. The idea was not big enough. They must not look for some pedigreed man or king; they must look to Israel, themselves. They must not think a Jewish kingdom in Palestine; they must vision a kingdom of God throughout the world. Small wonder that Deutero-Isaiah was to be especially valued by the followers of the Greatest Jew!

The Servant of God.—Again and again Deutero-Isaiah proclaims the destiny of Israel-Jacob, the Jewish nation.[30]

> Thou, Israel, my servant; Jacob whom I have chosen
> To whom I said, Thou art my servant (41:90).
> Ye are my witnesses . . . and my servants[31] (43:10).
> Hear now, O Jacob, my servant; and Israel whom I have chosen (44:1).
> Fear not, my servant, Jacob; and Jeshurun whom I have chosen (44:2).
> For the sake of Jacob, my servant; and of Israel my chosen (45:4).

That he is not sure that Israel measures up is clear from the statement in 42:19:

> Who is blind but my servant or as deaf as my messenger . . . and blind as Yahweh's servant.[32]
> (You think) It is too little a thing to be my servant
> To raise up the tribes of Israel
> (Very well!) I will give thee for a light to the world
> That my salvation may reach the ends of the earth.

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[30] The reference in 45:1, "Thus saith Yahweh to his anointed (literally *li-mešîḫô*, "to his messiah") to Cyrus" is quite generally recognized as a later scribal addition, entirely out of place and destroying the poetic symmetry of the line. If one insists on keeping this text intact as it appears in the English Bible, the reward is the task of explaining how Cyrus could possibly be called Messiah! See Torrey, *op. cit.*, 40.

[31] Singular in the usual translations, but clearly a plural is demanded, to fit in with "witnesses."

[32] A rather startling statement if applied to Jesus!

The Servant's Character.—Like a sculptor carving a niche for a lone figure the prophet prepares a mold for God's servant, introduced by the striking Hebrew word, *hinnê,* "Look!" The true servant of God is like this:

> He has the divine spirit upon him (42:1);
> He sets forth the divine will to the world;
> He does not complain or seek acclaim (vs. 2);
> He is sympathetic, fanning into flame latent possibilities (vs. 3);
> He is never discouraged, but persistently teaches (vs. 4);
> The world is waiting for such enlightenment;
> He opens blind eyes; frees men; brings light (vs. 7).

Sometimes Isaiah seems to refer to himself, sometimes to the nation; some have even thought that he referred to Jeremiah, Jehoiachin or the martyr Eleazer.[33] But his picture is true to life. *Any* servant of God must expect to be misunderstood, despised, forsaken (Isa. 53:3). The Jews have suffered (Isa. 53.4). Israel's growth has been remarkable, like the growth of a green shoot out of dry desert ground (53:1-2). They themselves naturally consider Jacob smitten, afflicted, disfigured for life (52:14). The heathen hate them; they almost loath themselves.

Servant Israel has been wounded, crushed, and chastized because of transgression (53:5). It is all for a purpose. Suffering and acquainted with sickness, he can sympathize with the sick and suffering everywhere (53:4, 11). Through suffering and sympathy does God's servant rise to the heights of human understanding. He suffers even beyond his deserts, a vicarious sacrifice (53:11), BUT—through just such stripes healing comes (53:5). *The world can be brought to God if someone CARES ENOUGH to pay the price to win it!*

The Messiah.—To many, Israel never fully filled the niche carved by the great sculptor. Isaiah mentions no name. Centuries later there were those who believed that a certain Galilean, a Carpenter, did fit into the niche; that He most fully suffered and loved and paid the price of caring for a world; that He filled full the Messiah-Servant concept of Deutero-Isaiah. Such a filling of the niche is a sheer act of faith. It is the basis of the Christian movement, but that constitutes another story. However, Isaiah did talk about the anointed, the Messiah; he made Israel Messiah-conscious. "It is beyond question that these poems are the principal source of the definitely Messianic pictures . . . in subsequent Jewish writings."[34]

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[33] See Kent, *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets,* 370, note.

Summary.—So came and went the noblest mind of the Old Testament era. Nothing like his work has ever appeared in any other literature in the world. None other has had the sweep, the sustained flights of lyric artistry, the world vision, the insistent idealism, the daring assurance, the flaming spirituality, the glorious whole-ness and wholesomeness of this Unknown. Sordid world values seem tawdry tinsel in the white light of his vision. Puny world schemes seem but the mewling of sickly infants as compared to the noble expressions of this Master Mind who would adjust a world's ills by the law of service, shown forth in the beautiful life of God's Anointed, Messiah. Who that Messiah might be is relatively important; but *what* the Messiah must be is Deutero-Isaiah's supreme contribution to human thought.

DID OTHERS FOLLOW HIS LEAD?

Obadiah.—In strange contrast is a little book of prophecy from the hand of one whose sense of stern justice sharpened his words. About 450 B.C. the Nabateans were forcing the Edomites from their ancient haunts in the Mt. Seir region (map No. 2). These Edomites, supposed descendants of Esau and thus related to the Hebrews, had joined with Babylonians and others in the sack of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. For years there had been some infiltration of these southern tribes,[35] and even some fusion with Jews. But in the main there was an undying hatred between the two groups.

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[34] Torrey, *The Second Isaiah,* 149.

To Obadiah, the Nabatean and Arabian pressure upon Edom is a just penalty for the ruthless looting of brother Jacob. In striking imagery, the prophet pictures Edom ensconced among the rocks. It reminds one of the romantic city of Petra, rainbow-hued rooms and façades carved from the living rock, an ancient altar perched high upon the cliffs, and the whole accessible only through a narrow rift, the Siq, scarcely twelve feet wide flanked by 200-foot cliffs.[36]

> Behold I have made thee small among nations
> Thou art despised. . . .
> Thou that dwellest in rocky clefts
> Whose habitation is high
> Who saith to thyself "Who can get me?"
> Though thou buildest high as the eagle
> And set thy nest among the stars
> I will bring thee down
> Saith Yahweh (vss. 2-4).

Obadiah then arraigns the culprit. If common thieves steal, they take chiefly what they need. If vineyard poachers raid the vines, they at least leave gleanings (vs. 5). Edom looted greedily. Now they are getting their just deserts, driven from their borders as poor Jacob had been years before, vs. 7. (Nabatean and Arabian raids.) They gloated over brother Jacob, exulted over Judah's tragedy, laughed heartlessly (vs. 12). They raided Jerusalem; they dipped their hands in the loot (vs. 13); they caught fugitives in the hills and took away the few family treasures they were carrying (vs. 14).

> As thou hast done, it shall be done to thee! (vs. 15)

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[35] Holscher, *Geschichte der Israelitischen und Jüdischen Religion*, 119; *Cambridge Ancient History*, III; Bewer, *Obadiah and Joel; Literature of the Old Testament*, 252; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 579.

[36] Petra was once an important caravan center. In Roman days it was often a semi-pleasure-resort for the wealthy. Its wild beauty attracted. Beautiful descriptions and suggestive historical data are given in Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization.* See also encyclopedia articles under "Petra" and "Edom."

Justice, cause and effect, reaping what has been sown—such is the simple, direct, scathing message of Edom's accuser. Cruel exultation and heartlessness bring their own reward. His problem is man's inhumanity to man. His solution is, Thou shalt not,—or God's justice will have to burn out the dross.

Impending Change.—The years of disappointment were as darkness before dawn. Tradition tells of a Jew high in the Persian court who interested himself in the Palestinian remnant. Though the temple had been rebuilt the walls of the city still lay in ruins, while Samaria, the northern rival, probably enjoyed greater trade and prosperity. It was time for a new situation to develop. Rumor may already have indicated that the new leader, Nehemiah, was enroute.

A Messenger.—The book of Malachi seems to reflect some such conditions as Nehemiah is reported to have found.[37] "Malachi" is a perfectly good Hebrew name, since it is a compound of *mal'ak* "agent" or "messenger," and the pronominal suffix, "my," hence "My Messenger"; it is also a perfectly good title for a book, author unknown.

The whole problem or theme of the book of Malachi is the coming messenger who will prepare God's way (Mal. 3:1). He will straighten up evil conditions (3:3) and remove sorcerers and unprincipled business men who take advantage of orphans, widows and resident aliens (3:5). When the messenger comes it will be a day burning like a furnace in which the local skinflints will be as stubble (4:1).

This arraignment, so much in the spirit and language of the early prophets, is coupled with what might be expected in that period, the question-and-answer method of the rabbis.

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[37] The priests and Levites are not carefully differentiated by Malachi, while in the later priestly code and in the Ezra tradition this is carefully done. The laxity in tithes and offering would have been impossible under Nehemiah and Ezra. Malachi deplored divorce, while Nehemiah rather forced it to remove alien wives from priestly families. Malachi's legal code seems to be Deuteronomic, rather than priestly. All of this points to a pre-Nehemiahan period.

Will a man rob God? Yet you rob him.
How did we rob him?
In withholding tithes and gifts (3:8).
You priests despise God's name!
How do we despise it?
You offer unclean sacrifice.
How is it unclean?
Because you make it contemptible.
How?
By offering blind, lame sheep, saying "What's the harm?"
Try giving it to the governor! Will he take it? (Paraphrasing Mal. 1:6-8).

The solution is brotherly consideration,—and beware the messenger!

Have we not all one Father?
Did not one God create us?
Then why deal dishonestly with each other!

WHO WAS NEHEMIAH?

A Problem.—Ezra and Nehemiah present a problem. If Ezra came from Babylon to Palestine in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, staged a sweeping reform, and set up a complete priesthood and temple service, how could it be that Nehemiah in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes should find practically no evidence of the reform? Could the incident that was the very foundation of all later Judaism fade out in thirteen years?

One way to adjust this impossible situation is to recognize two kings Artaxerxes. Ancient documents did not number kings. If Nehemiah came in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, 444 B.C., Ezra in the seventh of Artaxerxes II, 398 B.C., then the story could be logical. Nehemiah in 444 B.C. came, rebuilt the walls, reformed economic, social, and political abuses, and set the Palestinian remnant on its feet. Some forty-odd years later, a devout scribe, Ezra, realized that more was necessary. Israel's covenant must be kept. The Law of Moses must be enforced. Ezra, building upon Nehemiah's foundations, capped the pyramid with his religious reform which completed an episode that began with the exile. Thus the reconstructed Jewish state became a Jewish church. Ezekiel's holy nation was realized.

The Ezra Figure.—But the problem is not so easy. Originally Ezra and Nehemiah constituted a single scroll, known as 1st. and 2d. Ezra.[38] The two names became closely associated in tradition. According to the usual story the scribal party in Babylon had worked for years editing and revising the Mosaic Law. A complete *tôrah*, Law, with these priestly aspects, à la Ezekiel, had been produced which a learned scribe, Ezra, promulgated in connection with a colonization project in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, 457 B.C. He is supposed to have secured a permit from the king, and journeyed to Jerusalem with a great company of properly pedigreed Babylonian Jews, where in an open air assembly the Pentateuch, apparently unfamiliar to Palestinian Jews, was read in Hebrew, translated into the Aramaic vernacular, and acclaimed by the people.[39]

It is a beautiful picture, fitting in with the Jewish tradition of an extended exile, a pure-blooded lineage, a legitimate priesthood, an authoritative scripture, an organized return, and an officially founded Judaism. Recent investigations, however, tend to reveal Ezra as a personification of the essence of legalistic, scribal Judaism—a literary character created by another writer, the Chronicler.[40] In other words, the Chronicler topped off his Ecclesiastical History of Israel, 1st. and 2d. Chronicles, by showing an ideal foundation for the legalistic Judaism of his day, about 300 B.C.

The Historical Nehemiah.—On the other hand, Nehemiah is well attested. The walls of Jerusalem still bear mute witness to such a reconstruction.[41] Many of the locations mentioned by Nehemiah have been identified.[42] Any such work must have had Persian sanction to be carried through. A Jew high in court circles would be the one to do it. His religion would prompt the rebuilding; his political acumen would entertain a governorship,—and Persia might as well have a happy, prosperous, tax-paying colony!

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[38] See Ezra-Nehemiah, *International Standard Biblical Encyclopaedia;* Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings*, Chap. I; Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament.*

[39] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria;* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, II, Chap. X.

[40] Torrey, *Ezra Studies;* and *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah* cannot be ignored at this point.

The Literary Nehemiah.—Though the present book of Nehemiah has been fused with the elusive Ezra, and even though the Chronicler may have edited the whole, there seem elements of genuine biographical material. If so, Nehemiah joins with Julius Caesar or Benvenuto Cellini as one of the great diarists. Without further evidence to the contrary, it seems best to assume that the nucleus of the book was a series of personal jottings by a Jewish official holding a building permit from a Persian king.

The book should be read with an appreciation of a business man's point of view. This Nehemiah is an organizer, administrator, careful planner, and efficiency expert. He consecrates his practical talents to God's service. His religion lacks finesse but there is no doubting his zeal. His memoirs have an unstudied raciness and humor that make lively reading.

From the Diary of an Ancient Jew.—

December,—20th year of Artaxerxes—Winter Palace—Shushan—Hanani and committee came today—Jerusalem wall still in ruins and gates burned—Colony in distress—Prayed about it tonight (Nehe. 1:1-3).

March,—20th year—Must have looked sad—King asked about it—Told him about Jerusalem—Keen minded man; asked me what I wanted!—I told him—Queen was with him today—She rules—Wanted to know how long I would be gone (2:1-6).

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[41] Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 218; Macalister, *Century of Excavation in Palestine*, 124-129.

[42] With the help of three chapters in the book. Chapter 2 describes his night ride of inspection; chapter 3 lists the sections of wall where different groups worked; chapter 12 records the processional circuit celebrating the completion. The details have been of great help to archaeologists.

Got letters today—passport through Arabia and order for timber from royal preserve at Etam, south of Jerusalem (2:7-8).

Arrived Jerusalem yesterday—Going to have trouble with Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah, that Ammonite slave!—Last night slipped out and inspected the walls without telling rulers or priests (2:10-15).

Met leaders today—Suggested building walls—Favorable—Sanballat plans to accuse us of rebellion against Persia—Foolish, but might make trouble—Best keep them out of the project—God will help us (2:17-20).

Work going well—Placed builders opposite their own houses as far as possible—They work harder that way—Persians and Egyptians always have to drive their workers—This is better (3:28).

More trouble with Samaritans—Sanballat thinks we can not build out of rubbish—Tobiah, that Ammonite slave, says a fox could break it down if he ran on it—Hear us, O God (4:1-4).

Good progress—Wall half up now—Sanballat has stirred Arabians and Ammonites against us—Workers panicky—Have them divided now; half at work, half on guard in shifts—keep trumpeter at my elbow (4:6-18).

Everyone fatigued building and guarding—Haven't had clothes off for days.

Trouble today—Crops poor this year—Drought and building heavy drain—Persian taxes due—Have had to lend money to the poor—Found local lenders taking lands and children as collateral—Imagine, enslaving their own kinsmen!—I have not collected a cent of salary as governor; the others were always bleeding the colony—Forced a refund of collateral—Made sure by exacting oath in presence of priest (5:1-15).

Sanballat, Tobiah and Geshem the Arabian after me—Tried to lure me to Ono—Saw their letter to the king today, stating I am a rebel—They know better (6:1-8).

Shemiah is false—He is confined at home—visited him—Tried to get me to hide in the temple—ought to know it is forbidden—God never sent him to me (6:10-12).

Walls finished today—Fifty-second day—Nobles have been telling me good things about Tobiah—I doubt it (6:15-19).

A great day—Dedicated the walls—Great processional, two companies circled walls in opposite directions—Young poet wrote a special ode for it—Do not know his name (12:27-43).

Great and highly to be praised
  Is the city of our God
His holy mount is beautiful in situation
  The joy of the whole earth
Mount Zion, on the northern slopes
  It is a royal city.
Walk about Zion, encircle her
  Count her towers
Mark ye well her bastions
  Pass between them
That ye may tell it to the generation
  That is to follow
That such is Yahweh our God
  For ever and ever (Ps. 48).

32nd year—Must be getting back to Persia—Affairs in good shape—Been here almost twelve years (13:6).

* * * * * *

38th year—Back again—Eliashib has failed me—Gave Tobiah private apartment in temple, one of the big storage suites—Dislike Tobiah around (13:4-9).

Threw Tobiah's furniture out today—Rid of him (13:8).

Sabbath—Saw men treading wine presses and traders bringing loads to the bazaar—warned them (13:15).

Tyrian fish merchants worst offenders—Must stop this Sabbath breaking—Conferred with city elders—Gates will be closed at sundown next week (13:16-19).

Sabbath—Last night merchants set up market outside walls —Determined to profane Sabbath and sell goods outside jurisdiction—I have warned them—If it happens again I will arrest the whole crowd (13:20-21a).

Sabbath—Peace and quiet today—No merchants (13:21b).

Am worried about Jewish children—Ashdod and other foreign mothers—Jews should not have married gentiles—Children do not even speak our language (13:23-25).

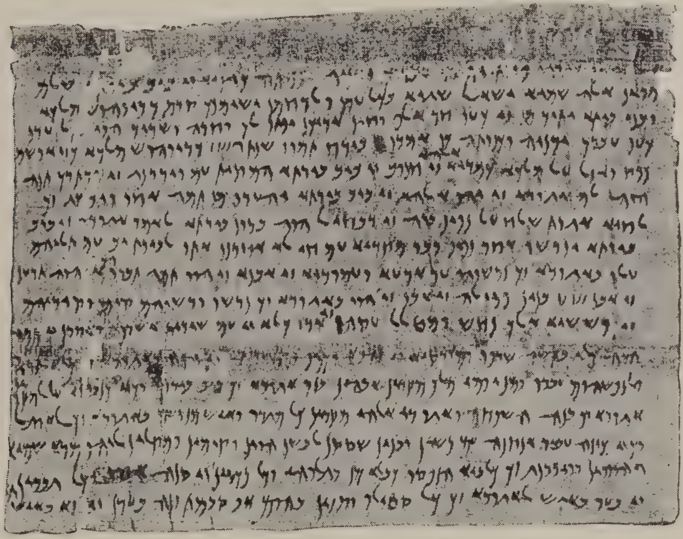
Settled the marriage question today—Bitter fight over it—Won the point, though—Got oath that mixed marriages will not be sanctioned—Someone must take these lax parents in hand (13:25).

Eliashib's grandson has married Nicaso, daughter of Sanballat—Can't that Samaritan clique keep out of this (13:28a)?

Chased Eliashib's grandson out today—They have gone north—Hear Sanballat plans to finance a new temple on Mt. Gerizim—They have an old copy of the Law up there—Remember, O God, they defile the priesthood and the Levites (13:28-29).

Have thoroughly organized the temple support and routine—Ought to go back to Persia—My work here completed (13:30-31).

Leaving today—Remember it all, O God, to my credit (13:31b).



Elephantine Letter.

This piece of papyrus was discovered in 1907 in the ruins of Elephantine. Written in Aramaic, it tells of the destruction of the temple of Yahweh. It also requests the Persian governor of Palestine to try to persuade the Persian governor of Egypt to allow the Jews to rebuild it.

Not in the Bible.—As a side light (and complication to stimulate further research) on all of this Nehemiah episode, it must be noted that a voluminous correspondence from the Jewish colony at Yeb or Elephantine in Egypt is available. Its pictures vary considerably from the current biblical interpretations. There was a temple there; there was the worship of Yahu, together with other gods.[43] In July, 411 B.C., Nephayan, son of a Persian army officer, Vidarnag, urged on by Egyptian priests razed the Yahu temple. There followed voluminous correspondence between the Egyptian Jews and Bagohi (governor of Judah after Nehemiah), and two sons of Sanballat (governor of Samaria).[44] The letters show no hesitancy in letting the Jerusalem group know that counsel is being sought also in Samaria. It would seem there was as yet no hard feeling, no schism between Judah and Samaria in 408 B.C.

This has given rise to the theory that the Sanballat of Nehemiah's quarrel was not the Sanballat of 444 B.C., but Sanballat II; and Nehemiah's "twentieth year of Artaxerxes" referred to Artaxerxes II. If so, Nehemiah rebuilt the walls about 384 B.C., and the Samaritan quarrel came then, as indicated by Josephus and Jewish chronology.[45] This might even bring the date of Deutero-Isaiah down to about 400 B.C. also.

Summary.—These matters of exact date can scarcely be settled. Suffice it to say that the century between 450 B.C. and 350 B.C. was filled with significant events touching all Judaism and through it the history and thought-life of the whole world.

WHAT IS GOD'S ULTIMATE PURPOSE?

Joel and the Locust Plague.—It has been suggested that the abuse of the Jews in Yeb, Egypt, aroused Joel[46] to proclaim:

> Egypt shall become a desolation
> Because of violence done to the men of Judah
> Because they shed innocent blood in their land.

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[43] In 419 B.C. 159 persons gave two shekels each, which were divided between Yahu (Yahweh), Ishum-bethel and Anath-bethel. These Jews were scarcely monotheists. See previous references to Elephantine papyri.

[44] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, XLI.

[45] Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, 455-460.

[46] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 609.

In any case, sometime between the rebuilding of the walls and the invasion of Artaxerxes Ochus in 368 B.C., Joel speaks. His problem is a half-hearted support of the ritual and law. As Zephaniah saw the Scythian hordes precipitating the Day of Yahweh, so Joel sees one of the terrible Palestinian locust plagues as a judgment of Yahweh. He is a ritualist, and a "minor" prophet, but his imagery is powerful.

High Lights.—Joel 1:2. Such a plague has not been seen for a generation. The old men can not remember such.

1:4. A series of synonyms for the voracious devouring swarming locusts.

2:7-9. A realistic description of the locust swarm:

> They run like an army
> They climb the walls
> They cover the city
> They creep into the houses
> They crawl through the windows
> Earth and heaven vibrate with them
> The sky is darkened
>
> . . . .
>
> It is the Day of Yahweh, great and terrible!

1:8-12. The results of the plague. There are no supplies for the temple offerings, therefore Yahweh can not be properly worshipped.

1:13-14; 2:1, 12-13, 15-17. A call to fasting, prayer, and ritual observance to include all ages and classes.

A Dynamic World.—Joel uses the apocalyptic style with its vivid coloring. His signs in heaven and earth, blood, fire, smoke, a darkened sun, and a red moon have been worked up into strange doctrines by occidental literalists. He is not describing an end of the world; he is enunciating the basic doctrine of all the apocalyptists: God's power shall be manifest, turning an upside-down world right side up.

The result of God's great adjustment is phrased by Joel in one of the most beautiful passages in the Bible, Joel

2:28-29: When God has His way, His spirit will be dominant; youth will labor for a righteous world; old age will dream and plan for good; young men will strive to attain ideals; the benefits of it all will not be confined to one class, but will be enjoyed by all.

It is a bit of the fire of Deutero-Isaiah. It is a strange, yet satisfying recrudescence of the old Hebraic democracy. It epitomizes the whole objective of God, the prophets, and the Bible.

The Kingdom of God.—When the prophetic books are read in the English Bible and analyzed in the light of historical background, two facts appear:

(a) Large sections, frequently at the end of the books, are apparently unaccounted for;

(b) Often these sections seem to reverse the original message, substituting promises and condolence for the ringing invective that preceded.

It seems a bit incongruous for a reforming prophet thus to vitiate his message,—like promising a child ice cream during the spanking.

The prophetic books were not fully edited and accepted until about the second century B.C. Jeremiah and Ezekiel had been convinced that there was a future for the Jew. The messianic hope, the assurance of Hebraic destiny, blazed higher and higher in the centuries following Deutero-Isaiah. The more foreign powers dominated, the more Jewish faith soared. Like the nameless authors of psalms, unknown men of God, true prophets, penned lyrics of hope. In the long process of transmission, these lyrics were evidently appended to the writings of the great prophets.[47]

Careful study of the Bible need not throw out a line. Like cards in a file, the lyrics of hope must be indexed according to their proper place. Instead of a problem or biblical contradiction, the messianic lyrics are the finest cross section of pre-Christian Judaism. Though they picture a material messianic Jewish state, they are Hebraic thought rising invincible above the vicissitudes of history. They enriched a soil in which might root the purest flower of prophetic thought, a spiritual messianic state, the Kingdom of God, as taught by the prophet from Nazareth.

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[47] Note such passages as Am. 9:11 ff.; Hos. 14; Mic. 7:7 ff.; Hab. 3; Zeph. 3:14 ff.; Mal. 4:4 ff. See also messianic fragments listed by Kent, *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 467 ff.

THINKING IT OVER

1. Why do religions die?
2. What were some of the popular religious ideas of fifty years ago?
3. What is your nation's best idea that could be passed on to others?
4. It has been said, "While there is life there is hope" and also "While there is hope there is life." Which is the biblical attitude?
5. Do your good intentions yield good results?
6. Is the idea of service overdone?
7. What experiences have you had that parallel those of the Servant?

a. What are the trends in religion today?
b. What do you understand by the term "modern"?
c. Does it take a good material State to make good people, or can good people make a righteous State?
d. Is organized religion necessary?
e. Should the law of the tithe be kept today?
f. To what extent do you think your country has or could fit into the picture of the suffering Servant?

* * * * *

8. Can social reform rise higher than the ideals of the majority?
9. Can political dishonesty be stopped?
10. Do you believe God calls anyone to a business or profession?
11. Does God send calamity, earthquake, plagues, etc?
12. In just what way should a religious person be "different"?
13. Are ideals necessary?

g. What is the best way to guarantee success of a social reform?
h. Do strict laws reduce crime?
i. What do you think would be the chief contributions that modern business could make to a better social order?
j. Is evolution or development complete?
k. What animal forms could be dispensed with?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Babylonian business methods. (Clay, BDMS; Dougherty, RETN; and in Jl. AOS, June, 1928; Knopf, in Bull. SCAS, XXXII, Pt. 2; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, p. 45.)

2. The Elephantine colony. (Baikie, EPPH; Barton, AB; Bell, JCE; Breasted, HE; Godbey, LTM; Lods, I; Smith in Bib. Wld., June, 1908.)
3. The career of Cyrus. (Breasted, AT; Camb. Anc. Hist.; Goodspeed, HBA; Rawlinson, AM; Rogers, CPOT; HAP; Rostovtzeff, HAW; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH.)
4. Economic and social conditions in the Palestinian colonies. (Bailey and Kent, HHC; Kent, MTJ, pp. 64 ff.; STPJ; McCown, GSG, pp. 264-272; Smith, OTH, pp. 260 ff.)
5. The Character of Nabonidus. (Breasted, AT; Camb. Anc. Hist., iii, p. 218; Dougherty, NB; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Rogers, CPOT.)
6. The accession of Darius I. (See instructions 3, *b*, and *h*, esp. Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index "Darius," and Olmstead, HPS, pp. 574-575.)
7. The fall of Babylon. (Barton, AB; Camb. Anc. Hist.; Dougherty, NB, XIII; SAA, VII; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 17, 18, 50, 58, 67-68; Rogers, CPOT; HBA.)

a. The name "Cyrus" in Isaiah 44. (Eiselen, PBOT, vol. I, chap. XII; Torrey, SI, pp. 40 ff. and notes.)
b. Persian invasions of Europe. (Breasted, AT; Cox, GP; Goodspeed, AH; Robinson and Breasted, OEH; Wells, OH, pp. 274 ff.)
c. The growth of monotheism. (Atkins, PG; Church, IS, index; Lods, I, index; McCown, GSG; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. I, index; Wild, EHP, index; Encyclopedic sources.)
d. The Yahu Cult. (Barton, SSO, pp. 275 ff.; Dougherty, SAA, pp. 188 ff. and notes; Godbey, LTM; Lods, I.)
e. The holiness code. (Bailey and Kent, HHC; Bewer, LOT, pp. 183 ff.; Driver, ILOT, pp. 47 ff., 59, 145 ff.; Eiselen, BP; Kent, GCOT; ILLP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, p. 135; Smith, OTH, p. 333; Wild, LGB, pp. 220, 284.)
f. New ideas about messianism. (Aytoun, in JBL, XXXIX; Ginsberg, TEZ; Kraeling, ASM; McCown, GSG and in HThR, XVIII, No. 4; Schmidt, in JBL, XLI, XLV; Silver, MSI; Wallis, MCP; Wild, EHP, index.)
g. The place of the scribe in Babylonian life. (See No. 1 above.)
h. Persian policy and activities in the West. (See *b* above; Camb. Anc. Hist.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, p. 67.)

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8. The synagogue in Jewish life. (Booth, BBT, pp. 87 ff.; Browne, EJ; Charles RDBT; Kallen, JAB; Kent, MTJ; Kohler, OSC; Oesterley and Cox, RWS; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Smith OTH, pp. 434 ff.; Smith, OTJC; Soares, SIIB, XVIII.)
9. Famous diarists and what they wrote about.
10. The making of the Pentateuch. (Booth, BB, p. 107; Eiselen, BP, XVIII; Holliday, DL, index; Moehlman, UB, VII; Trattner, UBB, index; Willett, BTS; Hastings, DB and encyclopedic sources.)
11. The Samaritan Pentateuch. (See No. 10 above and also instruction

No. 11; Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 292; Gaster, S; Montgomery, S; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 28, 53; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps, pp. 13, 92, 217.)

i. Torrey's Ezra studies. (Cf. Albright, in JBL, XL, pp. 104 ff.; LI, pp. 97, 104; Torrey, ES; PE; and SI; and in JBL, LI, pp. 179 ff.; CHVEN.)

j. The tradition of the Great Synagogue. (See No. 8 above and, Englander, in Heb. Un. Coll. Jubilee Vol., q.v.; Graetz, HJ; Ryle, COT; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps, pp. 3, 130.)

CHAPTER IX

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Study the history of Alexander the Great and his world conquest. (Breasted, AT, index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, XIII; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 622 ff.; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH; Encyclopedic sources; standard ancient histories.)
2. Read up on the origin and characteristics of the Hebrew wisdom teachers; note the philosophical teachers and teachings in Greece in the fourth century; read some of the wisdom fragments of Egypt and Babylon. (Barton, AB, XXII, XXIV; Brown, WE; Dinsmore, in Jl. of Rel., May, 1925; Durant, SP, Eiselen, POSW, III; Gunn, IP; Kent, GCOT, pp. 255-285; MTJ, pp. 162 ff.; PDP; WMAI; Langdon, BW; Marshall, SHGP; Richman, JH; LJL; Rogers, CPOT; Thorndike, SHC; Weber, HP; Wild, LGB.)

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3. Taking Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Job, with suggestions from the text and collateral reading, study each one in turn from the standpoint of literary aspects, divisions of the book, evidences of editing, problems considered, and solutions offered. (Barton, E; Bewer, LOT, XIX; Blake, IBB; Buttenwieser, BJ; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 191, 245, 279; Eiselen, POSW, IV, V, IX; Genung, WK; Kent, MTJ, pp. 155-177; PDP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Wild, LGB, index.)

a. Read Josephus' account of this period. (Josephus Ant., XI, p. 303; Feuchtwanger, J.)

b. Try to work out what might be termed a biblical philosophy of life. Genung, HWLLT; Hocking, MGHE; Knopf, SFL, IV; Macintosh, RR.)

c. Read up on the non-canonical wisdom writings. (Booth, BB; BBT; Charles, APOT; RDBT; Fullerton in JBL, q.v.; Gregg, BT; Kent, MTJ; Margolis, HSM; Trattner, UBB; Wild, LGB, pp. 202, 217; Con. Bib. Enc., pp. 347-350; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps.)

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Note: From here on observe two historical divisions: the closing Greek period; and the Maccabean uprising. There are numerous subdivisions necessitated by the varied material.

4. The Song of Songs:—Read the text before reading the biblical material. Study the Semitic and Arab wedding customs, ancient and modern. (Barton, AB, pp. 473-476; Bewer, LOT, pp. 391 ff.; Dinsmore,

EBL, p. 189; Driver, ILOT, pp. 436 ff.; Eiselen, POSW, VI; Jastrow, SS; Kent, GCOT, pp. 226 ff.; SHPOT, pp. 22 ff.; Smith, OTH, p. 426; Trattner, UBB, index; Wild, LGB, pp. 195 ff.)

5. Now read the Song of Songs; try to visualize the use of these lyrics.

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6. Read the book of Ruth; note the problem in the author's mind. Note that his solution is an appeal to existing facts of racial amalgamation rather than to the ideal of tolerance alone. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 282 ff.; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 251-253; Kent, BHH, pp. 27, 310 ff.; GCOT, p. 27; McFadyen, MPPH; Smith, OTH, p. 398; Wild, EHP, p. 226.)
7. Make a list of the primitive social customs portrayed. (Day, SLH; Soares, SIIB, I-III.)

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8. Read the book of Esther, keeping in mind the plot outline suggested in the text. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 302 ff.; Driver, ILOT, pp. 481 ff.; Haupt, P; Hoschander, BELH; Kent, GCOT, pp. 87 ff.; IHBN; McFadyen, MPPH; Schurer, JPTC, II, pp. 225-230; Smith, OTH, pp. 485 ff.; Trattner, UBB, index; Wild, LGB, pp. 94, 98; Hastings, DB.)

d. Review data on the country and people of Moab, and their relation with Israel. (Encyclopedic sources and indexes in historical works, "Moab.")

e. Review Persian history of the Xerxes period; secure data on Persian customs. (Camb. Anc. Hist.; Driver, ILOT, pp. 482 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 66 ff.; Rogers, HAP; Thorndike, SHC; Wells, OH.)

f. Secure data on the feast of Purim; if possible, consult local Jewish authorities. It would be profitable for any Old Testament student to attend some of the Jewish services and festivals. (Driver, ILOT, p. 485; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 244-246; Godbey, LTM, index; Heidel, DY; pp. 304 ff.; Smith, OTH, p. 485; Jewish Enc.)

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9. Using the standardized form arrange a two-fold outline of Jonah, placing in parallel columns the data as they would be: (a) If pertaining to a Jonah who was exactly the historical character portrayed in the book; (b) If pertaining to the possible author and his time. See if two distinct portraits can be evolved. (Cf. Gadd, FN; Olmstead, HA; Rogers, CPOT, HBA for Assyrian data. Bewer, LOT, pp. 403 ff.; Eiselen, PPOT, vol. II, pp. 439 ff.; Kent, GCOT, p. 154; MTJ, pp. 168-175; SEAIP; Moehlman, UB, pp. 14, 129; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II; pp. 123, 201; encyclopedic sources.)
10. Note particularly the problem and solution in the light of the Greek period. (Booth, BBT, pp. 41 ff.; Kent, MTJ, pp. 167 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index "Greek," "Hellenism"; Olmstead, HPS, pp. 636-637; Wild, EHP, p. 287.)

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11. Read up on the books of Chronicles and the work and person of the Chronicler; consider carefully his relation to the Ezra figure. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 282; Driver, ILOT; Eiselen, POSW, XIII; McFadyen, MPPH; pp. 270-285, 353; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Trattner, UBB, pp. 196 ff., 241.)

g. Study the work of the priestly editors and the priestly stratum in the Old Testament; try to grasp the intent and significance of their work; give special attention to the priestly elements in the Pentateuch. (Bewer, LOT, XVII; Driver, ILOT; Eiselen, BP; Kent, GCOT, pp. 43 ff.; 199 ff.; ILLP, pp. 43 ff.; McFadyen, MPPH; Trattner, UBB, pp. 121 ff., 183 ff.; Wild, LGB, pp. 65, 115.)

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12. The Seleucid history is complicated; study the book of Daniel with text and collateral, and outline the chief events as they develop in the reading of the book. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 410 ff.; Charles, CD; Dinsmore, EBL, pp. 298-304; Driver, ILOT, XI; Kent, MTJ, pp. 190-203; SEAIP; McFadyen, IOT, pp. 316 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index "Seleucus," "Seleucid"; Porter, MAW; Torrey in Transactions of Conn. Acad. Arts, q.v.)

13. Annotate the margin of your Bible with the historical key to the veiled figures in Daniel; at the same time build up the standardized outline for the book of Daniel. (The problem with Daniel is largely that of orienting oneself in the Seleucid period; and a proper appreciation of the necessity, sincerity, and purpose of apocalyptic writings.)

h. Review the nature and purpose of apocalyptic literature. (Booth, BBT, pp. 143 ff.; Charles, CD, pp. 281, 305, 319-321, also pp. xxiv-xxvii; Driver, ILOT, p. 513; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 274 ff.; McCown, GSG; Wild, LGB, p. 202; Hastings, DB.)

i. Study one of the non-canonical apocalypses; e.g., Enoch. (Booth, BBT, VII; Charles, APOT; Oesterley, BA; Thomson, BIL.)

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14. On the book of Psalms, review data on the elements of Hebrew poetry. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 19, 344 ff.; Torrey, SI, IX; Wild, LGB, pp. 120-140.)

15. Study those psalms that seem to have definite historical background; write down the principal periods in Hebrew history and representative psalms that might come from these periods. (Most modern volumes on the psalms contain some suggestions. Barton, AB, p. 458; Bewer, LOT, pp. 340-343; Briggs, in Int'l Crit. Comm.; Dinsmore, EBL, X; Driver, ILOT, pp. 382-389; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 63-64; Kent, SHPOT, footnotes to each psalm; Wild, LGB, V and bibliog.; note also Cheyne, BP and McFadyen, MP; Van Dyke, SP.)

16. Make a list of usable religious ideas from the Psalms. (Dinsmore, op. cit.; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 48 ff.; Kent, SHPOT, classified index; McFadyen, MP, pp. 3-8.)

j. Read groups of psalms from the different collections or divisions in the psalter and note any characteristics of particular sections of the book, or of the singing guilds. (Bewer, LOT, p. 343; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 42-43; Kent, GCOT, p. 250; SHPOT, pp. 35, 46.)

k. Make a special study of the superscriptions and the musical notations. (See No. 15 above for general references. Kent, GCOT, pp. 234 ff., 245 ff.; SHPOT, pp. 30 ff.; McFadyen, MP; Wild, LGB, pp. 144-146.)

l. Study the praise and processional psalms and compare with discussions of the temple services and ritual. (Bewer, LOT, pp. 347-356; Briggs, PL; Edersheim, T; Kent, SHPOT, pp. 30, 125-167; Smith, OTH, p. 431; Wild, LGB, pp. 134, 158.)

m. Experiment with classification of psalms; e.g., Thanksgiving psalms, liturgical psalms, nature psalms, psalms of forgiveness, philosophical psalms, personal prayers, national occasions. A variation of this experiment would be to take the general classifications of a modern hymnal and list appropriate psalms under each. (Cf. Kent, SHPOT.)

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17. Read the story of the Maccabean revolt as given in the books of the Maccabees, Josephus, and collateral sources. (See also: Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 311 ff.; Conder, JM; Kent, MTJ, pp. 186 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Streane, AM; Wild, EHP, index; Willett, JTC.)

18. Study the parties and schools of thought of the Greek period. Trace the rise of the *Ḫasidîm*; outline the tenets of the four main parties: Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene and Zealot. (See indexes under Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene, Zealot, Chasidîm or Ḫasidîm; Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 322 ff.; Booth, BBT; Box, in The Expositor, q.v.; Finkelstein in Harvard Theol. Rev. q.v.; Godbey, LTM; Mathews, HNTTP, VI-VII; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II; Schurer, HJPTC; Segal in Expositor, q.v.; Wild, EHP; Oxford Helps, pp. 207-215.)

19. Study carefully the break-up of the Maccabean house and the events that led to Roman domination. (See No. 17 above; Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXIX; Kent, MTJ, pp. 264 ff.; Mathews, HNTTP, VIII; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, XX; Smith, OTH, XX.)

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n. Note the contemporary Syrian history of the Maccabean period. (Bevan, HS; PD; Gardner, SKS; Mahaffey, EP; Mathews, HNTTP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index "Seleucid" and "Syria".)

o. Review Roman history of the period from 100 B.C. to 70 A.D. Give special attention to Roman activities in Palestine. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXIX-XXX; Breasted, AT; Feuchtwanger, J; Kent, MTJ; Mathews, HNTTP, XII; Morrison, JRR; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index "Rome"; Riggs, MRP; Smith, OTH, pp. 491 ff.; Wild, EHP, p. 245; Willett, JTC.)

20. Study the close of the canon of the Old Testament; consider the final forms taken by Hebraic religion; consider the attitude of the Jew toward his scriptures, as to their origin, nature, and purpose.

(Margolis, HSIM; Mathews, HNTTP, p. 19; Moehlman, UB, pp. 165 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 297 ff.; Ryle, COT; Trattner, UBB, pp. 205 ff.; Wildboer, OCOT; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.)

FINIS. Write down what you believe to have been: (a) The chief contributions of the Hebrews to civilization; (b) The chief values derived from a study of Hebrew history and literature; (c) The chief new ideas derived from this course of study.

Greek Period

CAN MAN THINK IT THROUGH?

Greek Influences.—The world passed a milestone in 333 B.C. Alexander of Macedon, genius, romanticist,[1] and enthusiastic Hellenist,[2] sealed Persia's fate at the battle of Issus. Soon all of Palestine and Egypt were under his sway. Eastward his armies marched, to the borders of India. In a drunken debauch at Babylon, Alexander the so-called Great, dallier, and murderer of his best friend, died, leaving a pseudo-empire that crumbled. Eleven years spanned it all.

But though Alexander passed, what followed in his train did not. Greek language, literature, and thought invaded Palestine. Though the philosophical movement in the ancient world had begun in the orient, with Habakkuk and the prophetic movement topping the peaks of intellectual vision, the Greek philosophers had followed with elaborate and brilliant writings. There was an attractive sophistication in Hellenic culture. Jewish youth, alert as any for new things and up-to-date-ness, faced a severe test. Could the Torah be kept? Were the Ten Commandments valid? Was Judaism too strict? Was father's faith *passé*?

The Wisdom Teachers.—Old men with youthful hearts took up the challenge. They were called the *ḥakamîm* or students of *ḥokmah*, wisdom. There were no university degrees. Age was the certificate of learning. Out of experience the wisdom teachers developed a philosophy of life. It was inductive as the Greek was deductive. To aid memory, the teachings were put in short, pithy form, *mešalîm* or "comparisons" i.e. proverbs.

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[1] Tradition says that he encamped before ancient Troy to get into the spirit of the Iliad before carrying out his world conquest. Again in Egypt he journeyed to one of the oases for initiation into the secret rites of the Egyptian cult.

[2] He was Greek trained, Aristotle his teacher.

Hokmah, Wisdom, was personified as a female figure,[3] beautiful, chaste, attractive, the hostess to those who were wise enough to attend her banquets. She was the antithesis of the harlot, whose companionship meant only folly and ruin.

Proverbs.—The book of Proverbs is an edited collection of *Ḫokmah* literature parts of which may come from ancient sources, even from Solomon's day. There are Solomon's Proverbs[4] (Prov. 10:1), Hezekiah's Collection (25:1), Remarks of Agur (30:1), and Lemuel's Instructions (31:1). Some proverbs reflect agricultural life of the days of the kingdom; others are clearly drawn from the Greek period and city life. Hymns in praise of *Ḫokmah,* tributes to her beauty, are frequent. All together, there is beauty, spice, and comfortable good sense in the book.

High Lights.—Prov. 1:10-15. This is a picture of an ancient holdup, typical of city life, probably from the Greek period.

1:20-23. Wisdom's song of invitation.

1:7; 2:5-6; 3:19. An Hebraic idea, quite opposed to the Greek. The *ḫakamîm* see wisdom as emanating from God, not mere human mind. Yahweh works through *Ḫokmah.* She is his creative assistant. No true wisdom can come from other source than God himself.

3:13; 4:5-7. Wisdom is life's supreme value, better than wealth.

5:1-23. A warning against the pagan city influences, with lower standards of family life and morals. The Greek and Jew were quite opposed in their concepts of sex.

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[3] *Cf.* Liberty, Columbia.

[4] Many of which are much later, but there might exist a Solomon Scroll of miscellaneous proverbs.

6:12-14. A vivid picture of the sneaking criminal, winking, shuffling, surreptitiously signalling his cronies.

7:6-27; 11:1; 20:1; 23:20, 27, 29-35. City sins.

14:4; 20:4; 23:10-11; 27:23. Country virtues.

14:6. The scoffers are the sophisticates, deriding Jewish virtue and religion; their attitude precluded true wisdom.

Subtle Semitic humor is repeatedly apparent:

Better is a dry crust with peace than a banquet with a fight (17:1).
The lazy man sits idle; he says "there might be a lion outside" (26:13).
Like a door dragging on a rusty hinge, the lazy man turns over in bed (26:14).
A lazy man always knows more than any seven others.
Better to dwell in a corner of the roof than have the whole house with a scolding woman (25:24).
You can pound a fool in a mortar, but can not beat foolishness out of him (27:22).

The ideal woman sketched by young Lemuel's mother (31:1) may be a daughter of the times in detail, but her virtues are timeless. She is industrious (31:13); cares for her family (vs. 15); has some economic sense (vs. 16); is sympathetic (vs. 20); kind (vs. 26); beautifies her home (vs. 22). Beauty is vain, but a good woman is a gift of Yahweh. Her husband's friends admit his good taste (vs. 23)!

Only men who combined religious fervor with intellectualism could highlight a book with such gleams as:

As one thinketh within himself, so is he.
It is better to be modest and called up higher than to be forward and later degraded.
If thine enemy be hungry, give him food; if thirsty give him drink.

Such is true religion.

Ecclesiastes, a Battle Ground.—The conflict between Greek and Hebraic thought can be definitely traced in Ecclesiastes, which is written in dissertation style much like the Greek. This seems to be the product of a wisdom teacher who adroitly guided youthful minds in adjusting their ideas. Among the Greek philosophers, Heraclitus had observed the continuous change and flux of the world. Everything changes. To Heraclitus, the only fixed and certain element in the universe was the law of change. Such a doctrine in Palestine collided with the supposed fixity of the Decalog or the eternality of the Torah. It was the negation of prophetic certainty and ethics. If all is change, what is fixed, even in morals?

Qoheleth,[5] the Teacher, can almost be pictured at the city gate or market place with a knot of disciples about him.[6] With sympathetic acumen he begins with an observation fitting his mood to that of his class: "*Habel habalîm,* all is *habel*"—"change of changes, all is change." *Habel* means to be cloud-like, or vapor-like, continually changing. The seventeenth century gloomy attitude toward religion caused the translators to render it "vanity." The cloud is in a perpetual state of becoming. "Change of changes" is Hebrew superlative,[7] hence exceeding great change, all is change—as Heraclitus had maintained. The wisdom teacher begins with admission of the basic correctness of his opponent.

What Is Worth While?—The next statement has a subtle humorous thrust at the dapper Greeks who presume to shoulder the weight of the universe on their turgid logic. "What is left to man after all his straining?"[8] (1:3). Qoheleh implies that considerable philosophy is much ado about nothing.

Following the Hebrew closely, "cycles come and cycles go"[9] (1:4), generations chafe and seethe, but "the world is still here" (1:4). The sun rises, sets, rises again, and "there it is"[10] (1:5)! The Greek-dazzled Jewish youths, lost in the skepticism of the new day, need to be reminded that the world moves on, law still operates, maybe there is some fixity in the universe in spite of Heraclitus and the Sophists.

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[5] Title of the book in Hebrew. It means a teacher rather than preacher.

[6] Compare in Greek philosophy the so-called Peripatetic School, or the Stoics, named from the *stoa* or portico where Zeno and his pupils met.

[7] Like Holy of Holies or king of kings, meaning the most holy place or the greatest king.

[8] The Hebrew *yithrôn,* suggests what exceeds or what is left beyond, being related to the Assyrian *atâru,* "to the left over." (See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch,* I, 133 and Lyon, *An Assyrian Manual,* 108). *Cf.* Genung, *The Words of Koheleth,* 215, note. Hebrew *'amalo* means "trouble" or "lifting." In Assyrian it suggests opaqueness. (See Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar,* 40.) After man has strained himself into intellectual befuddlement, what is still left? What is the fixed point in existence?

"All the rivers flow to the sea, but the sea is not yet filled up!" (1:7). The rivers of speculation flow incessantly. Judaism is drenched with Hellenism, but it can no more drown Moses and Torah than rivers can drown the sea. The Ten Commandments are not thistledown to be blown away by a puff of philosophic wind.

Following this introduction, Qoheleth points out things that he has tried, but found not worth-while, transient, *habel*. Wisdom is good, but often yields heartache (1:17); wine is no permanent solution to trouble (2:3); folly brings an aftermath (2:1); money cloys (2:11), and has to be left to dull-witted heirs (2:18-19).

"Wherefore I perceived that man should rejoice in his work, for that is his portion." "Portion," *ḫeleq,* is a piece of deeded property. The only fixed thing in the universe, the purpose of life, the deeded possession of the righteous, is the consciousness of moral endeavor; the consciousness of being right; the joy of creative effort. Man may lose his possessions, but this memory remains. His body may lie in the grave, but any conscious future life of the spirit preserves this memory of work well done. It is Habakkuk's solution restated in a Hellenistic age. It finishes what Heraclitus attempted. This supreme value, *ḫeleq,* is what is left, *yithrôn,* out of the kaleidoscopic vicissitudes, *habelîm,* of life.

Why Is Evil?—The problem of evil would naturally interest a Jewish philosopher. Qoheleth does not deny its existence. He has seen envy (4:4), greed (4:8), and maladjustment. The dyspeptic has money to buy food; the poor man has health to digest it (6:2). With ruthless perspective he observes that "God made man upright, but he has sought out many evasions" (7:29).

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[9] Hebrew *dôr* is translated "generation." This is possible. Assyrian *dûru* suggests "cycle."

[10] Hebrew *hû sham,* literally "he is there." The syntax is troublesome and some scholars have deleted the phrase, but it seems very expressive. Despite philosophy, the sun is there every morning. See Barton in *International Critical Commentary,* Ecclesiastes, 73.

The world is sinful because there are wrong choices,[11] choices that serve self at the expense of others or serve animal instincts at the expense of man's higher possibilities. If God wishes to make possible free beings, moral beings, beings of choice, then he must take the risk of choices running awry. Man as a choosing animal is a super-animal; creative, he is an image of the Creator.

Ecclesiastes closes with two queries. What about God? Answer—finite man can not compass infinity (8:17). He can respect God and keep the Commandments, the moral law (12:13); but he can not know all about the universe. What about the future life? Answer—"Remember thy creator in the days of thy youth," before old age and incapacity; before sight is dim and hearing dull; before life's silver cord is snapped, its golden bowl of experience broken, its brimming vessel shattered at the fountain. Live abundantly now. Eternity is existence *with God* (12:7), details unknown. Timeless, spaceless mind fraternizes with the timeless, spaceless God. It is enough.

Many Books.—Though many books of the *Ḫakamîm* were undoubtedly reduced to writing, many were lost or kept out of the Bible.[12] Some *ḫokmah* poems were preserved in Judah's hymn book, Psalms.[13] Lamentations 3, a philosopher's retrospect of Jerusalem's fall, was inserted in Lamentations, third chapter. The most extended work, however, the product of a combined sage, poet and dramatist, is the book of Job.

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[11] Qoheleth is psychologically correct. The neural structure functions equally for crime or virtue. The same nerve ends pick pockets or finger violin strings. Between crime and beauty lies a chief factor, choice.

[12] *E.g.*, Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira, Sibylline Oracles, parts of Baruch, IV Macc., Ahikar.

[13] *E.g.*, Ps. 1, 34, 37, 49, 73, 90, 112.

An Historical Job.—Job defies classification. The Hebrew did not write formal drama. Drama demands plot. While three old men on an ash-heap worrying an invalid is dramatic, it is not drama. Neither is the book a philosopher's dissertation, though it is philosophical. Primarily it is poetry, but it is more than a poem. It is just itself.[14] Of all biblical books, it is probably the most universally recognized and most readily accepted as great literature.

The prose section seems old. The ancient Babylonian story of *Ṭâbi-utul-Ellil* (or *Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl*) of the third millennium B.C. parallels that of Job. He too was a righteous sufferer, a wealthy man of Nippur who served the gods and lost his shekels.[15] An historical Job is mentioned in the Amarna letters, *A-ia-ab,* king of Pella, whom Mut-Baal accused of hiding away for two months. *A-ia-ab* wrote that he had heard of this; that he had been out guarding the king's territory; but that he had lost three towns to the king of Hazor.[16] This Job of 1400 B.C. was from Gilead, east of Jordan. The biblical Job is from some region on the borders of Palestine. His name in Hebrew, Iyob, is quite like *A-ia-ab*. Possibly there had circulated for centuries a tale about a righteous man who lost all; whose wife advised that he end it in one outburst of blasphemy; but who persisted in righteousness and ended with more blessings than ever. Ezekiel knew the tradition[17] (Ezek. 14:14). If so, a philosophical poet took this story, and split it,[18] placing one part as a prologue and one part as an epilogue to a long poem, a stage setting for the world's greatest debate.

A Literary Job.—This prose narrative pictures the heavenly court. Before the throne is the *saṭan,*[19] accuser, or prosecuting attorney who presents a thesis—does Job serve God for nought? If material blessing always follows righteousness what credit is it to be righteous? The implication is that if a man's friendship with God exists because he *wants* to serve Him, and if that fellowship persists in spite of everything, then all credit is due him. However at the end, the prose story pictures restoration of Job's wealth, a seeming contradiction of the whole purpose of the book.

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[14] So Peake, *New Century Bible,* Job, 41.

[15] Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* 164; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 631.

[16] Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d' Assyriologie,* XIX, 96.

[17] Some think the prose story developed in the days of Malachi, to encourage the suffering nation. See Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings,* 141 and notes.

[18] Modern Arab stories often use older elements.

[19] The writer of Job used the prose narrative as it was without altering this earmark of an earlier age.

Conflicting Ideas.—The author is troubled with the old problem of righteous suffering, the relation of a just God to an evil world. He rejects the popular concept of personal suffering as always the result of individual sin. The theory works nine cases out of ten, but Job is the tenth case! It is a critique of the Pentateuch and of Proverbs.

Two views of the meaning of the book prevail.[20] Is it to show how unconsciously the pride of piety might vitiate an otherwise faultless life? Is humility the *summum bonum* of suffering? Or is the speech of Yahweh the key, showing that man's comfort must come through contemplation of the great workings of nature, together with a realization of his own littleness, his inability to comprehend Deity, and a consequent resignation?[21]

The book is so varied, and so evidently composed of different strands, that it is not surprising to find conflicting suggestions appearing:

(a) Suffering is a test to prove man's spiritual strength; man can not understand it, but if he meets it piously, prosperity will follow. (The prose narrative.)
(b) Suffering is the result of sin. (Eliphaz.) Repent. (Elihu) (Zophar).
(c) Maybe there is vindication and reward after death. (Job.)
(d) It is presumption to try to understand. (Yahweh's voice, *et al.*)
(e) God is just and will right the wrongs. (Implied.)
(f) Persist in righteousness and trust God implicitly. (Job.)

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[20] So F. C. Porter, Yale Lectures, November, 1914.
[21] This strongly suggests Islam, from a verb root meaning "to submit."

The life-after-death concept is somewhat confused, mixed with current Greek concepts, but Semitic Job pledges faith in God's ultimate rightness, saying that a *gô'el* exists, one who redeems mortgaged property and saves it for his kinsman. Job's redeemer is more than kinsman; his redemption is God's ultimate friendliness.[22]

The Alleged Comforters.—The debate presents three types. Eliphaz is the dogmatist. He has considerable tact and sympathy, a high concept of God. He is the embodiment of current Judaism, holding to the doctrine of absolute balance between righteousness and prosperity. Bildad is the traditionalist. Everything has been handed down by the fathers. He appeals to authority and orthodoxy. Zophar is the blusterer. He assumes that loud talk in sufficient quantities is sufficient to establish a thesis. He calls forth some of the sharpest barbs of Job's subtle humor.

Elihu is unique. He is presented as an impetuous youth, cocky, argumentative, verbose. In some ways his speech cuts across the poem and is thought to be an interpolation.[23] Some consider Elihu the focus of the book, the author's own idea of the solution to the problem.[24]

Structure.—One might see four authors at work: a) The author of the prose narrative; b) The author of the poem of Job (3-27; 29-31; 38:1-42:6); c) The author of the Elihu speeches (32-37); d) The author of the Wisdom Ode (28 and expansion of 27). Be that as it may, the book falls into definite divisions: 1) Prologue; 2) Debate, in three cycles or rounds of discussion; 3) Elihu's speeches; 4) Yahweh's declaration; 5) Epilogue.

The Argument.—

Job: Let the day perish wherein I was born (3:3).

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[22] *Gô'el*, "redeemer" of patrimony, is a technical term, but the figure of the savior of a man's heritage would naturally appeal to the New Testament writers as they portrayed Jesus.

[23] See Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 428; Barton, "Some Text-Critical Notes on Job," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLII, 1923, Pt. 1 and 2, 29; and "Some Text-Critical Notes on the Elihu Speeches," XLIII, 1924, Pt. 1, 228.

[24] See discussion in Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings*, 143.

Eliphaz: But who ever perished being innocent (4:7)? (The old theology). Be glad that you are being corrected (4:17).

Job: Answer my question and I will keep still. Show me where I am wrong. What does your "proof" prove (6:24-25)?

Bildad: Do you think God perverts justice (8:3)? Ask the wise men of the ages. Consider what our fathers taught (8:8). (The old traditions.)

Job: It is all the same; God destroys the righteous with the wicked (9:22). (The apparent fact.)

Zophar: Do you expect to understand God? Put evil away (11:7, 14)! (Blind to facts.)

Job: When you die, wisdom will be dead (12:2)! God talked to me also—and said the good man is a laughing stock (12:4)! I know as much as you do (13:2). Your burning remarks are cold ashes (13:12). I would like to reason it out with God (13:3). I have stated my case; I am righteous (13:8).

2d Cycle

Eliphaz: Should a wise man bother with foolish talk (15:3)? God does not trust even the angels—and you drink up iniquity like water (15:15-16). What do you expect?

Job: I have heard all that. What comforters you are (16:2)! Come now, argue some more; I'll not find a wise man among you (17:10).

Bildad: How long are you going to hunt words? Think a while, then talk (18:2). Do you expect God to change his laws for you (18:4)?

Job: How long will you bother me (19:1)? As for me, I have faith that my Helper lives and even though dead and bodiless, I shall perceive him[25] (19:25-26)!

Zophar: My agile mind can scarcely wait to answer (20:2-3). The triumph of the wicked is short (20:5). He never prospers as you say (20:21). (Still blind.)

Job: I shall speak once more. After that, you keep talking (21:3). You have seen the wicked prosper. How often does he suffer (21:17)? Your ideas are empty (21:34).

3d Cycle

Eliphaz: Does it do God any good if you *are* righteous (22:3)? Return to God and you will be restored (22:23).

Job: I have never left Him (23:11-12)! You have seen the wicked prosper (24:2-23). If it is not so, prove me a liar (24:25).

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[25] The meaning seems to be, "I know that there is some answer to my problem and even though I die first, I shall eventually know about it." The pledge of indomitable faith and implicit trust.

Bildad: How do you expect to please God (25:4). Man is but a worm (25:6).

Job: How much did that help (26:2)? I will not deny facts to justify your argument (27:4-5). Till I die, I will maintain my righteousness (27:5).

Elihu: Being young I held back (32:6), but the great are not wise nor does age know everything (32:8). Harken Job, for I understand it all (33:1). Why fight God (33:13)? You speak without knowledge (34:35). You have added rebellion against God to your original sins (34:37). Permit me to speak on (36:2),—you cannot understand God (37:23).

Yahweh's Voice: Where were you when the world was created (38:4)? What holds the universe in order (vs. 6)? Can you make the sun come up (vs. 12)? Have you plumbed the depths of the sea (vs. 16)? What is the source of light (vs. 19)? Can you explain a snow crystal (vs. 22)? Can you control the weather (vs. 34)?

Job: I should never have spoken (40:4; 42:3), I am sorry (42:6).

Summary.—In all of this there is courage, yet bewilderment and a sense of defeat. But there are mountain peaks of hope. There is grim determination to trust God to the end, even though that trust beats upon the rocks of reason. As a philosophical answer, Job seems to fail; as a spiritual stimulus to faith, the book is sublime.

A Literary Age.—It is clear that the three centuries preceding the Christian era were marked by great literary activity. The Hebraic religious genius, no longer absorbed with matters of state and a syncretistic Yahwehism,[26] was surrounded by a literary atmosphere, Hellenism, and naturally turned to religious literature of many types. Philosophy, theology, poetry, and fiction flourished.

WHAT ABOUT MARRIAGE?

Love Lyrics.—The Song of Songs is timeless, though late in its present form.[27] The book must be viewed through the spectacles of Semitic marriage customs.[28] The whole community was concerned, celebrating the "King's Week" in a village pageant depicting the bride and groom as royal personages, surrounded by their court, the local youth. The marriage procession was accompanied by descriptive songs, sung antiphonally, in effusive, frank, yet chaste praise of bride and groom. The songs and rites were dramatic, but not drama. It was a great moment in a drab peasant life. Once in a lifetime the simple maid was queen; the groom was king; from oblivion they came; into oblivion they went.

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[26] *I.e.*, mixed, combining Yahweh elements with old cults. By this time Judaism was definitely monotheistic and beyond the purely formative stage. Idolatry was a dead issue.

[27] See the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LII, No. 1, 51.

Interpretations.—Many interpretations have been given. In 90 A.D. the rabbis were still discussing the advisability of including the Song in the Old Testament. The Mishna[29] indicates that some rabbis of the first century A.D. interpreted the book naturally, as a collection of wedding lyrics. Theodore of Mopsuestia, sixth century A.D., thought it was probably composed for Solomon's marriage rites. Among some twenty interpretations, many grotesque, was the belief that it allegorized the love between Yahweh and His people.[30] The passionate beauty of the lines was turned into theology![31]

High Lights.—Cant.[32] 1:4-6. Antiphonal dialogue between the bride and her friends: I am swarthy—you are beautiful; I am dark as a Kedar tent—you are colorful as Solomon's tapestries.

1:9-11. The groom praises his bride in the highest terms possible to the desert Semite—his favorite, bespangled mare.

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[28] The customs continue in modern Syria.

[29] The Mishna ("repetition" or "second law") was a body of interpretations of the written Law or Pentateuch, a series of decisions and comments that circulated first in oral form, but later (about 200 A.D.) reduced to written form. The sixty-three sections and 525 chapters attempt to make minute application of the Pentateuch to every detail of life. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*; Booth, H. K., *The Bridge Between the Testaments*, Chap. V.

[30] The Christian theologians took up the rabbinical idea, applying the Song to Christ and the church. Origen wrote ten volumes on it. For the various theories, see Eiselen, F. C., *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings*, Chap. VI.

[31] Rabbi Akiba, about 120 A.D., warned against using the Song as a common popular ballad in wine houses.

[32] The Latin term, *Canticles*, is frequently used to designate the Song of Songs. Hence the abbreviation *Cant.*, a convenient short form.

2:8-14. A popular song about a lover's visit.

3:6-11. The royal procession, the groom hailed as king. He is surrounded by peasant friends, expert in farm tools, but for this occasion they are "expert in sword play."

5:1. A drinking song, probably sung by the feasters.

5:2-8. The bride sings of a visit of her lover; the village girls suggest that they have noble lovers also; how is her lover any better than any other lover? The bride replies in a passionate song of praise for the groom.

6:4. Tirzah was a charming village, in a mountain setting. The groom compares the bride to Tirzah's soft beauty. She is *'ayummah*, breath-taking as a great army with fluttering banners. The translation "terrible" for *'ayummah* is unwarranted. The bride is not "terrible"; she is so beautiful that she holds the groom breathless with admiration.

6:8. Solomon had a harem of beauties. The groom has but one, equal to them all.

6:11-12. Solomon had a profitable vineyard, well rented. The groom has a choice vineyard also, the bride. Solomon can keep his property.

Summary.—Here is a chaste series of songs, rising far above many of the ancient and modern Palestinian lyrics with their obvious obscenity. That may explain why the collection was first made, and why it should have a place in the Old Testament,—Judaism's guide-book touching every phase of human life, marriage included. There is no finer passage in literature than the climax of this Handbook for a Jewish Village Wedding:

Place me as a seal upon thy heart,
Set me as a bracelet upon thine arm;
For love is strong as death,
Jealousy as destructive as the grave.

The flames of love are bright and gleaming
A fire divine from God Himself.

Many waters cannot quench real love;
Nor can floods drown it.

Whoever barters wealth and love
Is utterly contemptible.

WHAT ABOUT TOLERANCE?

Racial Conflict.—The coming of foreign influence precipitated not only a philosophical conflict, but a very practical social problem as well. Human nature usually assures two sides to every question. The Hellenistic Jews, accepting Greek culture, had little difficulty. Many were wealthy. They entered Greek life, enjoyed the games, kept up some of the Jewish customs, donated synagogue funds, and kept an eye on politics. Another group, however, reacted strongly to the pagan inroads. They became the so-called *Ḫasidîm*, or Pious. These Jews, devout, sincere, and courageous, became the depository of legalistic Judaism, sometimes at its worst, sometimes at its best.

The racial conflict created hatreds quite at variance with the love-element and universality of the prophets. All vision of a glorious kingdom of the nations under God seemed to fade out of the more intolerant minds. The harsher aspects of the apocalyptic prophecies were emphasized. The heathen were accursed. Racial and religious prejudice were doing deadly work.

Ruth.—Three works from the pens of broader minded writers presented this problem in attractive terms, Ruth, Esther, and Jonah. The materials for the Ruth story may have circulated for centuries; the original nucleus may be as old as the Judges period.[33] But the book as it now stands is late,[34] a daring romance that ventured to go so far as to maintain that there was foreign Moabitic blood in the Davidic line! Ruth, the Moabitess, is charming, religious, acceptable to Yahweh. Aside from this missionary message, the book has interest and value as a commentary on interesting customs concerning marriage, family estate, property rights, and the place of the *gô'el*, or redeemer of land for next of kin. Ruth is a short story, blending fact and message in a delightful way.

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[33] Jewish tradition credited Samuel with writing it. McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 293. On linguistic marks see Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 455.

[34] It has been suggested that it was written as a protest against Nehemiah's and Ezra's severe anti-foreign measures.

Esther.—The book of Esther has inspired unnumbered writers and musicians. It is one of the five *megillôth* or scrolls appointed to be read at the feast of Purim.[35] It has had numerous addenda, such as "The Prayer of Mordecai," "Prayer of Esther," etc. There was a long controversy over its acceptance in the Bible. Athanasius refused it in the fourth century; Callistus in the fourteenth; Martin Luther said he wished it did not exist.

The book must have been written after 387 B.C., the year of the infamous King's Peace, for it mentions Artaxerxes laying tribute upon land and isles of the sea, recalling Ctesias' complaint that the Spartans had surrendered the Greek cities of Asia and the islands to the Persian king.[36] Many references to Persian manners, court practices, and possible historical events fit quite accurately the result of archaeological discoveries. The entry of a Jewess into the harem was entirely possible. Jews in Persia were numerous, even taking pagan names, as Mordecai.[37]

But though there might have been an historical Esther and a series of events somewhat as narrated, the author's purpose was not to give the biography of Esther or the history of Persia. He might have had an interest in explaining the origin of the Feast of Purim, but even that is less important than the message of tolerance. A Jewess could marry a Persian. A Persian could recognize Yahweh. A daughter of Israel could work for Yahweh, and Yahweh could work his will through a heathen. The purposes of God were not confined to Jewry, Palestine, or the Pious.

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[35] From *pûr* meaning the lot; they had cast lots to select the lucky day for seeking the king's permission to kill the Jews. Purim is the Feast of the Lots.

[36] Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria,* 614.

[37] From Babylonian god, Marduk.

A Hebrew Novelette.—As a Hebrew novelette, Esther is a masterpiece of plot and counterplot, woven into a continuity of interest, suspense, sub-plot, and dénoument.

Chap. I **Prologue** (Esther 1:1-2:4)
  Ahasuerus' greatness—drunken revel—Vashti's honor—divorce.
II **A Captive Maid** (2:5-20)
  Cousin Esther—Mordecai's plan—Esther's simplicity—a king's favor.
III **Villains** (sub-plot; 2:21-23)
  A sub-plot—planning assassination—discovery—execution—forgetfulness.
IV **A King's Favorite** (3:1-15)
  Promotion of Haman—Mordecai's courage—casting the lots—wheedling of king—wholesale death—drink.
V **Where Angels Fear to Tread** (4:1-17)
  Mordecai's concern—Esther's donation—Mordecai's command—Esther's hesitancy—"Thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this"—"If I perish I perish."
VI **The One Flaw** (5:1-14)
  Esther's request—Haman's elation—the flaw, Mordecai refuses homage—plans—a gallows.
VII **A Troubled Night** (reappearance of sub-plot; 6:1-14)
  A king's insomnia—sleepy reading—was Mordecai rewarded?—how should a king's friend be honored?—Haman's idea—the wrong man—fate.
VIII **The Crack o' Doom** (concurrent plots; 7:1-10)
  The banquet—Esther's charge—a fawning coward—sentence—gallows—execution.
IX **All's Well that Ends Well** (8:1-10:3)
  Prime minister Mordecai—laws of the Medes and Persians—a way out—self-defense—the Jew triumphant—a decree—a memorial—Purim—Peace.

Jonah, a Hebrew Satire.—The world's great missionary message is given with inimitable pathos and humor in Jonah, the story about a prophet. The plot of a castaway swallowed by a sea monster and disgorged is old and varied, having counterparts in Greek,[38] Indian[39] and Egyptian[40] lore. Alexandria, in Egypt, a thriving center of culture, was a great Jewish center. Its cosmopolitan spirit bred liberalism. An Alexandrian writer would see the comedy and tragedy of the stricter Jerusalem pietists whose misguided zeal often perverted the ancient prophetic message. The use of an Egyptian term, *qîqayôn,* for gourd[41] may be significant. A prophet could write in Babylon, why not in Alexandria? Did a liberal-minded Alexandrian write this satire?

The tale stops short when the lesson is reached, characteristic of a parable. Details, especially those referring to Assyria, are sketchy. No Assyrian king was addressed as "king of Nineveh." No sweeping religious revival ever swept the vampire state. No Assyrian king turned theologian or penitent. Any such event would inevitably leave evidence in the inscriptions.[42] An historical Jonah back in the days of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs. 14:25) was on the wrong side of the question when he encouraged Jeroboam in a project of conquest which Amos later repudiated in no uncertain terms. Such would be a fitting character as the hero of a satire depicting the folly of unintelligent zeal. The author respects no dignity. Jonah is made ludicrous —trying to get away from God; quoting current theology about a merciful, forgiving, loving God while hoping it is not true; bothered about a gourd vine while oblivious to the fate of a nation; losing his temper, and acting childish when he cannot have his own way.

To a Hebrew ear the name Jonah might suggest a verb, *yânâh,* which means "to rage" "to oppress" or go into a

[38] The story of Hercules rescuing Hesione of Troy after she had been three days inside a sea monster.

[39] The story of Mitta-Vindaka of Benares who went to sea contrary to his mother's wish. Some unseen power seized the ship until Mitta-Vindaka was thrown overboard.

[40] An Egyptian tale of about 2500 B.C. telling of a shipwrecked sailor, floating three days, swallowed by a sea monster, then disgorged upon the land.

[41] The term may refer to the castor bean, rapid growing and luxuriant.

[42] Religious changes would involve priestly guilds, discord, and some reflection in the annals. Also, religious changes were reflected in personal names—the new babies were named after any new popular deity. (*Cf.* Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period.*) Yahweh was west Semitic and scarcely to be appropriated by Assyria. At these points the verdict of archaeology is unshaken.

tantrum. He is a son of Amittai, and this word suggests *'ameth*, "truth" plus the possessive "my." Nineveh was the embodiment of rank heathendom. Did the author mean to tuck in a rebuke to the Pious, sons of Truth, who claimed to possess God's truth, yet raged against his backward children, the heathen? To paraphrase: "the word of Yahweh came unto a raging one, even a son of my truth, saying 'Arise and go to the hopeless heathen and preach'; but the raging one fled the task." Whether the writer intended any such linguistic subtlety or not, that is the focus of the book; its purpose is to reduce such a particularistic intolerant attitude to absurdity.

The pagan world is delightfully reflected. In trouble each cries to his own god. When Jonah claims that Yahweh created the sea itself, there is no doubt in the sailors' minds, no injured pride. A man ought to know his own god. When convinced that Jonah must perish, they naïvely remind God that they did not ask for the storm, so are guiltless. After the act, they offer sacrifice and think up a few vows. Typically Greek, it reminds one of the Iliad.

The psalm in chapter two stands alone. The story is complete without it. Its theme is much like the prose narrative[43]—a soul swallowed up, distressed, praying, released. It could well epitomize the experience of Israel, swallowed up by Babylon for disobeying God, held in sorrowful exile, repentant, restored. In fact, the whole sea monster *motif* could allegorize Hebrew history, and has been so interpreted.[44]

The controversies over Jonah and the sea monster have often obscured the fourth chapter where the parable reaches its climax of clever satire and a great lesson. Jonah, prophet of God, is angry because his preaching succeeds and his theology works. Since he cannot have his own way, he will die. There is dignity in Yahweh's quiet reply, "Should you be angry?" Jonah sitting just outside the city waiting for trouble is increasingly absurd. His doddering interest in a gourd while world events are transpiring is ridiculous,—a fling at the disputations of the Pious, more interested in hair-splitting argument than in world salvation. His second desire to die because he cannot have his own way is highlighted by Yahweh's dignified query, "Should you be angry about a gourd?" Jonah, devoid of all perspective now, rails back at God—and threatens to die a third time!

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[43] Did the poem suggest the idea to the author?

[44] If a literal reading is applied to the psalm, obvious incongruities follow; *e.g.*, Jonah was not in Sheol, but in a monster; not Yahweh but sailors cast him overboard; he was not in a bed of sea weeds but inside a marine vertebrate; he was not at the bottom of the mountains; the earth has no bars; he was not there forever.

Then comes the nub of the parable: If you care so much for a mere gourd vine which you did nothing to produce, simply because it shaded your head, how much more must God care for His creation. Nineveh might be heathen, but there were people, and innocent women and children who needed God. The gentile world might be evil, but it needed what Judaism had to give. Bigoted piety would only defeat its own end.

Though directed at a particular group at a particular time, Jonah is universal, a plea for tolerance, for love, for missionary spirit.[45] There is no book like it in the Bible, so obviously and intentionally humorous. Ridicule is its weapon. Beneath it all is a noble heart pleading a mighty cause. Man is worth saving. Man can be saved. God wishes him saved. Love must reign.

Things Omitted, Chronicles.—While unnamed prophetic literatures are pleading for wider vision and an evangelistic tolerance, an earnest priest prepares an Ecclesiastical History. The doubts of Habakkuk or Job do not trouble him. He is the flower of the orthodox concept of the rigid working of the laws of cause and effect. To him righteousness brings prosperity, evil brings destruction,—always, directly, and immediately. History is the movement of man toward God and Torah, a complete

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[45] There was a strong proselyting group also in Judaism. Alexandria was a center and for centuries both Judaism and Christianity had a great history in North Africa. See Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*.

Judaism. The pendulum swings back and forth; there are good reigns and bad; but all serve to illustrate the point. As the great philosopher Hegel sees history a movement toward freedom,[46] the Chronicler sees history as a movement toward authority. His mind is priestly, Levitical.

The books of Chronicles, originally called the *diberê hayyamîm*, or "Record of Days," were designated in Greek as *ta paraleipomena*, the "Things Omitted."[47] This well describes the Chronicler's attitude. Some fifteen sources outside the Bible he claims to have drawn upon.[48] Undoubtedly in his day there were fragments and traditions now lost, though he may not have had as perfect a library as he indicates.

Originally the work consisted of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, suggesting that the Chronicler is responsible for the Ezra tradition and for the present edited and annotated form of Nehemiah's memoirs. In the Jewish canon Chronicles comes in the *kethûbîm,* the third division of the Old Testament, the miscellaneous writings. When Jesus spoke of the first and last murders in the Scriptures, he mentioned Abel (Gen. 4:8) and Zechariah (2 Chron. 24: 20-22). Chronicles evidently stood at the end of his Bible.[49]

A Fixed Purpose.—Chronicles is a work with a purpose. Everything is subverted to that purpose. Beginning with Adam, the writer establishes family trees, validates authority, analyzes characters, interprets events, and carries Judah's history on through the decree of Cyrus, then Nehemiah, and the final establishment of a perfect Levitical Judaism by the model scribe, Ezra. In this *Outline of History,* men are omitted, or minimized, or eulogized, according to their relation to the general thesis. Indispensable characters, like David or Solomon, whose evil deeds would upset the idea, are presented in an expurgated biography. The whole intricate legalism and ritualism of late Judaism is read back to creation and Moses. It is dignity and authority impregnable.

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[46] Weber, *History of Philosophy,* 496 ff.; Sibree, *Hegel's Philosophy of History.*

[47] Jerome suggested the term, *chronicon,* which gave rise to the modern title, Chronicles.

[48] See Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings,* 333 for list.

[49] Some of the Spanish manuscripts place Chronicles at the beginning of the *kethûbîm.* The Jewish Talmud, German manuscripts and the present Hebrew Bible place it at the end.

These patent earmarks of Levitical interests, with the evident interest of the writer in musical directions and temple rites, indicate that the Chronicler may be a Levite and member of one of the guilds of temple singers. Under the guise of adding the "Things Omitted" from current Hebraic history in Samuel and Kings, he presents his righteousness-brings-prosperity-evil-brings-suffering philosophy of history. His interest in the Jerusalem temple and Judah is apparent. If Northern Israel gets into the picture, it is in connection with the south.

The Chronicler knew (if he did not invent) the tradition of a great exile, a return, and a strictly Judean conservation and development of the true Yahweh faith. He was a master propagandist. He worked so well that his concept has dominated the study of biblical history ever since. With it all, his sincerity was admirable. His philosophy was not wrong, but one-sided. Cause and effect did operate in Hebrew history, but divine love must be included in the equation.

The Priestly Hand.—This study of the Chronicler suggests what had been going on in priestly minds. From the fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C., the interest in writings grew. Who edited, and when, will be forever unknown, but these centuries witnessed new books, revised books, and scribal insertions in the old Ephraimitic and Judean writings. Ezekiel's legalism could develop into a complete Holiness code. Earlier practices could grow into an elaborate book of law like Leviticus. Scattered all through the Scriptures could appear priestly versions of old narratives, such as Aaron's help to Moses, walls of water in the Red Sea, minute plans for the wilderness camp, long genealogies, records of speeches and prayers, parenthetical explanations of terms (often more confusing than the vague terms) detailed actions of the priests, etc. etc.

These priestly writers urgently desired that God's authority and supremacy should be acknowledged, so they filled up gaps in the narratives, often highlighting events with strong miracle elements. In effect, they tried to present a complete, authoritative, letter-perfect compendium of Yahweh's dealings with His people. The objective was commendable. The method has provided materials for twenty centuries of research and discussion.[50]

CAN RIGHTEOUSNESS WIN?

After Alexander.—The years of literary production were not devoid of political events. Alexander's death destroyed any chance for a world state before Rome. His empire split up into four divisions: the far east; Macedonia under Antigonus; Egypt under Ptolemy; and Palestine under Seleucus. Years of warfare followed, in all of which the fortunes of the Jews varied.

With the accession of Antiochus IV in Syria, an era of trouble began. Antiochus, supposedly Epiphanes, "brilliant," and dubbed behind his back Epimanes, "fool," became obsessed with the desire to stamp out Judaism. Thoroughly Greek, he wished to Hellenize his province completely. This met little opposition except in Judea. When in Egypt, 170 B.C., a rumor of his death caused a deposed priest, Jason, to attempt to recover the lucrative High Priesthood, Antiochus massacred or enslaved thousands of Jewish men, women, and children in reprisal and stripped the temple of treasure.

In 168 B.C. he had a quarrel with Rome, and was ordered out of Egypt. He vented his wrath upon the hated Jews. This time Sabbath observance was forbidden, rites stopped, books destroyed, and the temple dismantled.

December 15, 168 B.C., an altar dedicated to Zeus was erected on the site of the ancient altar of Yahweh, and on

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[50] See Harper, *Priestly Element in the Old Testament;* also Driver, Eiselen, Kent, and commentaries.

December 25 swine were offered upon the altar. It was the supreme offence.

The insane cruelties of Antiochus struck terror into the heart of every Jew. His career took on more and more the aspect of a murdering, money mad, temple robbing maniac. No power seemed able to stop him. In the welter of blood and terror, devout Jews naturally raised two queries: Does it pay to keep the Torah? How long will it last?

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

The Book of Daniel.—The book of Daniel came as an answer. It was the second century B.C. The Torah had been accepted and closed since 400 B.C. The Prophets were probably listed by 200 B.C. To write a book of prophecy and get it accepted demanded that the author produce under a *nom de plume*, using a recognized name.[51] Already there may have been circulating stories about a great Jewish seer, Daniel, at the Babylonian court. Six stories about him were used (Dan. 1-6), followed by a symbolic discussion of Antiochus IV and his certain doom[52] (7-12). The author wrote in the vernacular Aramaic. It was decided to translate the work into Hebrew and chapters

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[51] Though written under the name of a prophet it did not go into a prophetic canon, but into the *kethûbîm*.

[52] Though the book as it now stands is a unit, there is no doubt of the sharp division in it. The first six chapters are edifying stories; the last six purely apocalyptic. In chapters one to six Daniel is a man of learning and insight; in seven to twelve he is the passive recipient of revelations and the visions have to be minutely explained to him. In chapters one to six there is no mention of the Antiochan persecutions; in chapters seven to twelve they are the principal theme. In the first section Daniel lives until the first year of Cyrus; in the second section he has an important vision in the third year of Cyrus!

1-2:4 and 8-12 were worked out.[53] Now, even in the modern Hebrew Bible, Daniel must be read partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic.

The six stories are gems of didactic narrative. "Shall we keep the law faithfully?" The answer is, "Daniel did" (Chap. 1). "Is Jewish wisdom and law superior?" Answer, "Daniel had it, and was the wisest man in Babylon" (Chap. 2). "Will God ever deliver us?" Answer, "He delivered Daniel and his friends" (Chaps. 3 and 6). "But has God power to do it?" Answer, "Nebuchadnezzar admitted it" (Chap. 4). "Will God thwart Antiochus?" Answer, "He is already 'menê, tekel, upharsîn' " (Chap. 5).

What a drunken king might have seen flickering on the wall, or whether a Jewish courtier with prophetic insight took advantage of a situation is beside the point. The author is using subtle linguistics. The "menê, tekel, upharsîn" is a Hebraized form of mana, sheqel[54] and a half-mina (peres);[55] literally, "a mana, a sheqel and a half mina." These were Babylonian weights and measures of money. But these Babylonian terms suggested Semitic verbal roots: *manû,* count or number; *šaqâlu,*[56] weigh; and *parâsu,* divide. The pun and message are obvious!

Date.—The writer of Daniel is bane or blessing to the archaeologist, depending upon the point of view.[57] On Babylonian and Persian history he is confusing. His order of kings is erroneous; between Nebuchadnezzar and the last king were three rulers.[58] The last king was Nabonidus. Darius did not take Babylon. However, at this point a strange accuracy appears. Belshazzar, as has been ably proved by Dr. Dougherty of Yale, exercised authority with his father.[59] Nabonidus spent much time in Têmâ, in Arabia. Belshazzar's banquet and the city's fall are quite in order.

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[53] This was done some time before 153 B.C. Charles, *A Commentary on Daniel,* xii.

[54] The *š* of one Semitic dialect could pass over into the *t* of another, so that *t-q-l* could stand for *š-q-l.*

[55] This word is found in Zinjirli Aramaic inscriptions, meaning one-half mina. See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions,* 176. To call a man a half-mina was an insult.

[56] However, there is a Babylonian word, *takâlu,* meaning "to bring about" or "deliver" (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch,* 1155). "Thou art delivered" or "finished" would be equally pertinent. Since two of the words are clearly Babylonian, why not the third? The king's scribes could read, "A mana, a sheqel, a half mina," but what did it mean? Daniel, with prophetic acumen or sharper linguistic sense, ties the terms up to basic Semitic roots and interprets. See Charles, *op. cit.,* 133-137.

[57] No study of Daniel is complete without Charles, *Commentary on Daniel;* Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar;* Porter, *Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers.*

[58] Amêl-Marduk; Nergal-sharezer; Lâbâshi-Marduk.

As the writer approaches Antiochus, his data becomes accurate down to a definite point, about 166 B.C. There is no evidence of Daniel in Jewish literature before 190 B.C., but by 140 B.C. the book is known by several writers.[60] Daniel's visions touch intimate Seleucid history until after the abomination of temple desecration, 168 B.C.; but there seems little evidence of the final successes of the Maccabees and the temple re-dedication in 165 B.C. Sometime after 190 B.C., probably between 168 B.C. (temple desecration) and 166 B.C. (early Maccabean success), this prophetic book of encouragement, hope, and conviction appeared.

To encourage the persecuted Jews by direct reference to Antiochus was suicide. The veiled figures of apocalyptic permitted safe condemnation of the monster. Such writing is clear to a modern age only when superimposed upon a minute knowledge of the history. It is in itself a philosophy of history, not unlike that of the Chronicler. Antiochus is evil, cruel, temporarily suffered of God to go his way; but doom is certain. How can the writer be sure? By surveying past history. The empires have risen and fallen. No heathen power has lasted. No great king has been immune from God's immutable justice. Media, Persia, Babylon, Macedon,—all have had their day, but divine wrath has fallen. Antiochus is no exception. There is hope.

Assurance of Faith.—The detailed analysis of Daniel revolves around this basic point. Without history it is confusion; with historical background it emerges as one of the clarion trumpets of undaunted faith sounding the call to loyalty, sacrifice, and confidence in God's eternal order.

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[59] Tablet No. 119, Welch collection, University of Southern California, refers to an oath taken in the name of Nabonidus and the son of the king. See Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar.*

[60] The Sibylline Oracles, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the book of Jubilees, I Maccabees, I Enoch, Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Wisdom, Assumption of Moses, Baruch, Ezra, and the Zadokite Fragments.

Chapter seven is painted in bold strokes. Four beasts—Babylon, the winged lion; Media, the bear; Persia, the leopard; and Macedon, a strong, devouring, "different" beast[61]—are turned loose upon the world. The last has ten rulers (horns), and one grows up by displacing three (Antiochus IV who followed Seleucus IV, Heliodorous and Demetrius I). This horn is really a boasting man (Antiochus) who has warred on the saints (Yahweh's followers). But God has already judged him, and he will be destroyed.

Chapter eight is the same picture, with added detail. A two-horned ram (Medo-Persia,—and Persia's ascendency followed Media) is slain by a rapidly charging great-horned goat (Macedon, under Alexander the Great). The great horn (Alexander) is shattered and four little ones grow up in its place (Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus of Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt). From one horn (Seleucus) comes a little one (Antiochus) which carries conquest into the glorious land (Judah), and casts down stars (Jewish martyrs) and takes away the sacrifices. The duration of the desecration shall be 2300 sacrifices, or 1150 days, three years and fifty-five days.[62]

Chapter nine is a digression,[63] as the author attempts to figure Antiochus' doom by resorting to the current method of interpreting prophecy chiefly as clairvoyant prediction. Jeremiah had spoken of seventy years (Jer. 29:10). Obviously seventy years had long passed. The author tries figuring on the basis of *weeks* of years,[64] i.e. 70 x 7, or 490. He divides his 490 into sections, and begins figuring from the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Seven weeks bring him to 538 B.C., Cyrus' decree. Sixty-two more weeks of years bring him to 104 B.C., which fits nothing! Had he said fifty-two, all would be clear. His error is about ten weeks, actually sixty-seven years, which is a slip in the calendar quite like that of Demetrius, the historian, of about 200 B.C.[65] Figuring fifty-two, the date is 174 B.C. An "anointed one," probably high priest Onias III, was deposed without trial about 175 B.C.[66] In 171 B.C. Onias was killed.[67] There follows one week, seven years, in the midst of which the sacrifices are prohibited, i.e. about 168 B.C. Restoration should come at the end of the last seven years, and the author comes close to the date, 165 B.C. There is no possibility of minute accuracy in juggling the figures, but the broad outline of the writer's thought and computations can be seen. The main point is that persecution can last only until the annihilation determined upon (Antiochus) by God crashes down.

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[61] It was "different"—Western, occidental.

[62] According to 1 Macc. the period was between 1100 and 1190 days. In Dan. 7:25 and 12:7 the period was designated at three and one-half years. The actual period was three years and ten days, Kislev 15, 168 B.C. to Kislev 25, 165 B.C. The author was within forty-five days of the correct estimate. This is one of the clearest cases of attempted minute predictive prophecy in the Old Testament. Since the author evidently did not indicate the correct time, his work must have come before the Kislev 25, 165 B.C.

[63] A long section in this chapter, vss. 4-19, is an inserted Hebrew prayer pieced out of existing Hebrew liturgies. It was interpolated some time before 145 B.C. while Daniel was being translated from Aramaic into Hebrew. Charles, *op. cit.*, 222; Silver, *Messianic Speculation in Israel*, 243.

[64] This is a late Jewish expression for seven years, used in Mishna, Talmud and hundreds of times in the book of Jubilees.

Chapter ten elaborates the historical theme. Four kings of Persia end with Alexander's conquest. He is broken, his kingdom divided into four, but his posterity does not share it. Ptolemy Philadelphus gives Berenice to Antiochus Theos to seal a treaty alliance, 249 B.C., but it fails.[68] Later Antiochus III gives his daughter, Cleopatra, to seal another alliance with Ptolemy V and to circumvent Rome. This fails. After the Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus IV and the mad Jewish persecutions, the author makes the transition from detailed history to veiled prophetic utterances moving towards the climax, chapter twelve, with the ultimate assurance that "thy people shall be delivered (Dan. 12:1), when there has come an end to shattering.[69]

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[65] Josephus makes similar errors. Exact chronological materials simply did not exist at that time.

[66] Jason, his brother, bribed Antiochus with 440 talents of silver.

[67] He had censured Menelaus, who had outbid Jason for the priesthood by 300 talents.

[68] She was later divorced by Antiochus, to take back Laodice.

[69] The text is obscure but can be reconstructed through the Greek. There are two additions, evidently made at a later date, figuring the number of days and trying to square the figures with subsequent events. See Porter, F. C., *Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, and Kent, C. F., *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets.*

Summary.—Thus the writer recounts repeatedly the cycle of events, each time with greater detail until his readers can have no doubt as to the persons and events designated. Item after item of Seleucid history is unfolded in veiled figure. Everything focuses on the doom of Antiochus. In it all is the eager attempt to prognosticate the time. Standing in the midst of turmoil, suffering, and an incipient revolt (Maccabean) that might mean much or little, he studies history and beholds the glory of God.

HOW WAS THE OLD TESTAMENT FINISHED?

Works without Authority.—Though the Chronicler had attempted to fill in the "Things Omitted," a great mass of literature and multitudinous events never got into the Scriptures. The loss of Hebrew and the prevalence of Greek demanded a translation of the Hebrew writings. Down in Alexandria a whole Greek version was produced. Later Judaism rejected its authority, but for thousands this "version of the seventy," or Septuagint was the normal expression of the Hebrew writings.[70] It was not created all at once, nor by a unified group, tradition to the contrary notwithstanding. Part of it is good Greek; part is atrocious.

Scores of religious manuscripts circulated, some of which almost got into the Bible but were rejected because written in Greek instead of the holy language. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphic (*nom de plume*) books[71] tell much of Jewish ideas, hopes, and fears. Philosophy and messianic concepts stimulated many of these nameless writers. The messianic dreams became elaborate, to the point of grotesqueness. Jewish fanaticism took two directions: murderous intrigue and revolt; and passive awaiting of divine intervention accompanied by spectacular miracles. It was a fruitful though a distressing age.

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[70] On the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible; International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia;* Booth, H. K., *The Bridge Between the Testaments,* p. 112 ff.; Geden, *Introd. to the Hebrew Bible;* Charles R. H., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* II, 83 ff., Swete, *Introd. to the Old Testament in Greek;* also *cf.* Thackeray, S. St. J., "The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins," *Schweich Lectures,* 1920.

[71] Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* I and II, exhaustive and illuminating. Booth, *Between the Testaments,* gives a convenient reference chart.

Writing the Psalms.—With all of the vicissitudes of history, poets could still sing. The temple services demanded singers and chants. A nation's songs grow along with it, but organized collections and hymn books are called forth by specific needs. The Hebrew hymn book, Psalms,[72] was the result.

Though questioned by some,[73] it seems reasonable to suppose that the Antiochan persecutions and the great Maccabean victories stimulated religious poetry. Some of it may have been very late, at the very close of the Hebrew canon.[74] Psalms in praise of Torah, Wisdom, and high priestly rulers scarcely go back to early days. Acrostic forms, Aramaic, or Greek expressions, often indicate certain psalms as part of the literary activity of the Greek period.[75]

The date and authorship of individual psalms, or of the whole collection, are very uncertain. Israel had its lyric lore as well as any other nation. Certain events were sure to affect poetic minds, as for instance: crossing the Red Sea (Ex. 5); digging a well (Num. 21:17-18); Deborah's victory (Jud. 5); the deaths of Saul and Abner (2 Sam. 1:17 ff. and 3:33); a king's marriage (Ps. 45). Religious chants must have originated early; note that Amos (5:23) inveighs against turning worship into a community song festival.

The great mountain peak experiences of the nation, would add lyrics by the score, e.g. the United Kingdom prosperity and Solomon's temple; the fall of the Hebrew kingdom; exile and disappointment; rebuilding the temple (calling for new liturgies); rebuilding the walls; the establishment of the Torah; Greek period persecutions; the Maccabean uprising. Varied lists of psalms under these headings have been arranged, although with no universal agreement.[76]

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[72] The Septuagint uses the term *psalmon*, but the codex Alexandrinus uses *psalterion*, whence the term "Psalter" as a general designation for the collection of psalms used as a hymnal.

[73] See Buttenwieser, "Are There Any Maccabean Psalms?", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXVI, Pt. 3 and 4, 225; and Haupt, "Maccabean Elegies," XXXVIII, Pt. 4, 157.

[74] See Kent, Driver, Briggs, and Eiselen.

[75] Ps. 110 may be an example of late writing. Arranging the first letter of the first word of each line, there appears the phrase *Šim'ôn 'ayôm*, apparently an acrostic which tucks into the ode of praise the name of the one honored. *'Ayôm* means "resplendent." In 141 B.C., Simon was elevated to the high priesthood, and a poet could well dedicate an ode to "Simon the Resplendent." If this be true, a composition as late as 141 B.C. could still get into Israel's hymn book. Other acrostics are Ps. 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145.

The superscriptions help little, for they are late additions, and were prepared on a theory of fitting psalms to definite historical events without regard to possible discrepancy between the date of the event and the obvious period of the language of the psalm.[77] Many of the superscriptions in the Septuagint vary from the Hebrew testament. The Hebrew particle, *le,* translated "of," can also mean "to," "for," "on account of," "in behalf of," "in the style of," "connected with," etc.[78] A psalm "of" David may be in honor of David or simply from a great collection of hymns known as the David Psalter. This may be a key to the nature of the present psalter. There were guilds of temple singers, each of which probably had its repertoire of chants. There were psalms of the *benê* Korah, or Korah guild (e.g. Ps. 87), Ethan (89), Heman (88), and Asaph,[79] hence the notation "a psalm of the sons of Korah," or "a psalm of Ethan," etc. Parallel with such Korah or Asaph hymn collections there was a David collection, either older songs ascribed to him or the property of a David guild.[80] The possible collections suggested are:[81]

1. The first David Psalter in Ps. 2-41
2. The second David Psalter in Ps. 51-72

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[76] See Eiselen, *The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings,* 63-64. *Cf.* Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* 382. Note few examples already given in connection with exile and Nehemiah.

[77] Driver, *op. cit.,* 374.

[78] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament,* 510.

[79] Even Moses (Ps. 90) and Solomon (Ps. 72, 127) are included as authors by the Jewish compilers.

[80] Though it is probable that if there had been an honored David Guild, some note of it would have come down in tradition. A modern hymnal, titled as containing Such-and-such a denomination's hymns, does not thereby indicate that only members of that denomination wrote them. A hymnal is an edited collection from many times and sources.

[81] So Bewer, *Literature of the Old Testament,* 343.

3. The Korah Psalter in Ps. 42-49
4. The Asaph Psalter in Ps. 50, 73-83
5. An appendix to the Korah Psalter in Ps. 84-89
6. The Hallelujah Psalter in Ps. 105-107, 111-118, 146-150.
7. The Pilgrim Psalter in Ps. 120-134
8. Another David Psalter in Ps. 138-145
9. Ps. 93, 95-100 a special collection.

Editing a Hymn Book.—The first David Psalter was probably collected as early as the days of Nehemiah. The second Davidic Psalter is of about the fourth century, with the Korah and Asaph sections added. Someone with a religious bias edited this in the third century substituting the term *'Elôhîm* for the divine name Yahweh, hence it is often called the Elohistic Psalter.[82] The third division of the original Psalter, Ps. 90-150 was a final addition.[83] Later still, the whole Psalter was divided into five divisions, to correspond with the five books of the Pentateuch, a sign of the growing artificiality of rabbinical lore.[84] The books of law had to be balanced by books of praise!

A study of the musical notations of the psalter gives a bit of human interest as well as some hint of the history of its compilation. Psalms may have been set to popular melodies, such as *yônath,* The Dove Song (Ps. 56);[85] *šôšanîm,* The Lilies (69); or *šôšanîm 'edûth,* The Lilies Declare (80);[86] or *'ayyeleth-ha-šaẖar,* The Morning Deer (22). Many had musical directions such as *'alamôth,* Soprano voices (46); *šeminîth,* Low Octave or bass; *gittîth,* Stringed Instruments;[87] *neẖilôth,* Flutes; or the tantalizing *selah*, really unknown but probably indicating crescendo unison.[88]

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[82] In the first division Yahweh is used 272 times, *'Elôhîm* fifteen; in the second great division, *'Elôhîm* is used about 200 times, Yahweh forty-three; in the third division, Yahweh is used 339 times.

[83] Eiselen, *op. cit.,* 65.

[84] The Talmud claims 147 psalms, corresponding to Jacob's age. The number, 150, varies considerably, depending upon the combination or separation of certain psalms, *e.g.,* 42-43.

[85] See marginal note, American Revised Version.

[86] The Hebrew *'edûth* means a testimony and was also used to indicate the testimony of the Ten Words, or Commandments. So the lilies declare God's work and will. There is also the possibility that the popular song was a love ballad, the lilies a declaration of love.

[87] The meaning is not certain. It may refer to some popular Gathite instrument, from Philistine Gath.

Historically, it has been suggested that sometime in the Persian period there was made a collection of "Golden" Psalms, *miktam.* A bit later another collection appeared, the "Meditation" psalms, *maskil.* At the same time, the first Davidic collection became a synagogue prayer book. Then came the *benê Korah* repertoire, while over in Babylon the Asaph guild gathered its favorite songs.[89] In Palestine a revised hymnal appeared, *mizmôr,* with musical directions added, a Director's Psalter. Then in the Greek period a Praise Hymnal of Hallelujah psalms for temple service was introduced. Pilgrim songs were needed for the festivals, and constituted another element in the collections. After the re-dedication of the temple, 165 B.C., a Psalter like the present book of Psalms was prepared, embodying the old collections or guild favorites, and so rich and varied that it could be used for temple ritual, synagogue, or private devotion. This hymn book began with Davidic psalms and the Director's Psalter; the Elohistic revised psalter was placed next; *hallel* and pilgrim chants followed; the whole rounded out with additional Director or Davidic psalms. Just about the end of the second century, the five-fold, 150-piece hymn book received final form and approval.[90] It became the book of Psalms.

Timeless Lyrics.—All this technical study of the great hymn book of Israel is but a step toward a finer appreciation of what the psalms should mean. It is small wonder that the psalter has been the universal scripture. Psalms can be translated into all languages and find response, for the experiences are universal. These songs are the heart cry of God's noblemen. No devout lover of God's creation could miss the splendor of Psalm 19:

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[88] The verbal root means "to lift up," whether voices or instruments no one knows. It might even be a direction for trumpeters to lift their instruments and sound an interlude or finale.

[89] Not proven.

[90] On this see Briggs, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* I, 40 ff.

The heavens declare the glory of God
And the firmament showeth His creative work;
Day after day they tell of it,
Night after night they give knowledge;
There is no audible language,
No sound is heard from them,
Yet their voice has gone throughout the world
And their words to the limits of earth.
In them he has set the dwelling of the sun
Radiant as a bridegroom going forth from his canopy;
He rejoices as a horse about to run a race,
From one end of the heavens he starts
To the other end is his circuit,
And nothing can be hid from his rays.[91]

In the stillness of the night, gazing into the blue-black star-bespangled depths, any thoughtful man can say (Ps. 8):

When I look on the heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which Thou hast set,
What is man that Thou art mindful of him
Or the son of man that Thou shouldest associate with him?
For Thou hast created him little less than divine!

. . . .

The thunderstorm, sweeping in from the sea and crashing against the Lebanon peaks, followed by the quiet voice of peace like the freshness after rain, is aptly described in the majestic four-beat rhythm in Psalm 29:

The voice of Yahweh on the waters,
The God of glory thunders!

The voice of Yahweh breaketh the cedars,
Yahweh breaketh the cedars of Lebanon,
Yea, He maketh them leap and sway
Lebanon and Sirion[92] like a young wild ox.
The voice of Yahweh cleaveth the rocks,
Yahweh cleaveth the rocks with lightning;
The voice of Yahweh whirleth the wilderness,
Yahweh whirleth the thickets of Kadesh;

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[91] Compare this with the "Hymn to the Sun," of Amen-hotep IV, Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 462.

[92] Mt. Hermon.

The voice of Yahweh twisteth the oaks,
The voice of Yahweh strippeth the forests.

But Yahweh blesseth His people with peace.

The rumble and roar of the sea vibrates through the Hebrew of Ps. 46, yet in any language the theme of trust and confidence can be apprehended:

Yahweh is ours, a refuge and strength
A help ready found in time of distress;
Hence fear we not, though the earth do quake,
Though the mountains fall in the depths of the sea,
Though the great waves boom and the waters moan
And the mountains shake with the pounding tide—
  Yahweh of hosts is with us.

Joy, sorrow, love, trust, faith, and sometimes primitive hate[93] are all in these songs of religious genius. Hebraism speaks. Judaism makes its final literary contribution in these lyrics. The hopes and fears of centuries crystallize in them. It seems fitting that the aspirations of the Old Testament period and the final stage in the Old Testament's development should be represented by the Psalms. It seems fitting that the story of twenty centuries of experience of man with Deity should focus in a hymn book that can speak in universal language the supreme lesson of the lawgivers, prophets, and dreamers, who testify to a sin-wracked, groping, hoping world:

God is my shepherd,
I shall not be in need.
He maketh me to rest in green pastures,
He leadeth me beside refreshing waters,
He buildeth up my soul,
He leadeth me in the path of right-ness
In response to His name.
Yea though I walk in a valley of fearsome shadows
I will fear not, for Thou art with me;
Thy protection makes me secure.

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[93] To an ancient an imprecation was a prayer for God's justice upon wrong doers. The imprecatory psalms are prayers for justice, though admittedly representing a different religious concept from that of the Sermon on the Mount. They can still voice bigotry and hatred, but are more valuable as a crystallization of a zealous revulsion against all evil doing.

Thou preparest a feast for me
Though enemies are near by;
Thou anointest my head as a guest,
My cup is full and overflowing.
Surely goodness and kindness shall pursue me
All the days of my life,
And I shall be at rest in God's world
Forever.

WHAT CAME OF IT ALL?

Life Goes On.—No historical sequence ever stops. The "end" of one epoch is but the beginning of another. The famous theologian, Smend, maintained that the study of Old Testament religion as such should end with the second century B.C., the rest being properly the beginning of the New Testament period. On the other hand, Stade felt that a movement can be understood only in the light of its outcome, and that the flowering of prophetism and the messianic hopes must be observed in the work of the Galilean prophet. It is true that the more materialistic aspect of Judaism, with its doctrinal disputes, its hatreds, and its literal interpretation of the messianic kingdom, can be seen in fruitage only by following the tragic story to the fall of Jerusalem and the scattering of the Jews in 70 A.D.

The Maccabees.—A pagan sacrifice at Modin precipitates the Maccabean uprising when Mattathias, refusing to participate, kills a fellow-townsman who joins in, and Antiochus' emissary. Raising the banner of revolt, Mattathias and his band flee to the hills. The aged man soon dies, but Judas carries on. Then follows one of the most thrilling episodes in Jewish history.[94] These Maccabees, "Hammerers," achieve the impossible. They meet the flower of Syrian armies. They hold prayer meetings before battle. They win victories against fearful odds. Blow after blow is given by these fanatical, courageous Jews, fighting for their Torah, for their religious freedom, for eternal Truth as they see it. It seems unfortunate that the present Bible should omit the story.

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[94] Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel,* II, Chap. XVI; Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.*

At last Judas' band enters the rubbish-filled temple enclosure in Jerusalem. After a mourning ritual, work begins and on December 25, 165 B.C. the dedication ceremonies are held. Annual celebration of this event becomes the Feast of Dedication, still observed by Jews as the Feast of Lights. From Persia Antiochus hastens to punish Judas, but dies *en route*. Quarrels over his successor enable Jonathan, Judas' brother, to play one Syrian faction against another. Three hundred talents purchase tax exemption. When Jonathan is murdered by a Syrian general, Simon, last and wisest son of Mattathias, becomes leader. Demetrius II of Syria recognizes him, confirms treaties made with Jonathan, and Simon takes the high priesthood. He inaugurates the last period of Jewish independence, a short era of peace, prosperity, and joy. In 141 B.C. an assembly confirms Simon as hereditary priest and governor, Simon the resplendent. Someone pens an acrostic ode (Ps. 110).[95] The independent Jewish state even mints its own coins, with chalice and lily design, inscribed "Jerusalem the Holy" (cf. 1 Macc. 14).

Parties and Schools of Thought.—The glory can not last. Upon Simon's death, the lucrative high priesthood becomes a bagatelle for scheming politicians until the old Maccabean fires are quenched in a flood of political chicanery.[96] The opposers of these machinations are fiery advocates of the Torah, who separate themselves from all such worldly bickering to give sole attention to the Law and its applications. These separatists, or Pharisees, become the leading religious party.[97] People look to them for minute instruction in the Torah, and a weighty mass of addenda grows up which forms the "tradition" often described by Jesus. The work is sincere, but loses itself in a maze of detail. What is termed by the rabbis a "hedge around the Law" to protect it becomes a thicket that keeps many outside. These Pharisees even write poetry, some of which is probably in the book of Psalms. A whole collection, Psalms of the Pharisees, is rejected from the Bible.

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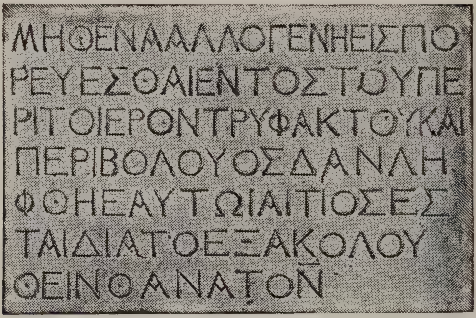
[95] In spite of eulogy, he was stabbed by his brother-in-law in a drunken revel. It was this Simon who razed the Jerusalem of Solomon and Hezekiah, filled the Tyropean valley with débris, destroying priceless archaeological evidences. Macalister, *Century of Excavation in Palestine*, 195.

[96] Hyrcanus even raised funds by robbing the tomb of David, getting, so tradition asserts, 3,000 talents of gold. Macalister, *ibid.*

[97] See "The Pharisees, Their Origin and Their Philosophy," Finkelstein, *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, July, 1929. *Cf.* Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, II, index.

Against the Pharisee stands the Sadducee, wealthy, of the old priestly aristocracy, content to keep the commandments, impatient of theological hair-splitting. His is the game of politics, uniting with whatever party is in power to secure office. Eventually, when Pharisaic disputes with Jesus shall arouse popular emotions until a riot threatens, the Sadducean party will press legal charges to check a troublesome disturbance against the Pax Romana.[98]



ΜΗΘΕΝΑΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗΕΙΣΠΟ
ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΠΕ
ΡΙΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΟΣΔΑΝΛΗ
ΦΘΗΕΑΥΤΩΙΑΙΤΙΟΣΕΣ
ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

Notice forbidding Strangers to enter the Precincts of the Temple.
(From a Photograph.)
Found built into the wall of a Moslem cemetery.
The inscription in Greek is as follows : — "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the Temple and inclosure. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death, which will ensue."

The Shadow of Rome.—The conflicting religious and political elements in Judaism are now too strong to merge into a united movement. Pompey finds quarreling factions. He is fairly reasonable, but while one group welcomes him into Jerusalem another bars the temple enclosure. The Roman views it dispassionately. His is the task of settling a province. With the slaughter of 12,000 Jews, Jerusalem comes under the Roman eagle, 63 B.C. Soon an Idumean family, hated Edomites, gains control, so Herod becomes a petty king, backed by Rome. He is intelligent enough to spend a fortune on the temple,[99] marry his daughters to Jews, and strike coins omitting any "graven image" of living things.

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[98] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.*

Mighty Rome can not be repulsed.[100] There are no Maccabees to lead revolt. So Jewish genius turns to the sacred literature. The Scriptures are completed, as witnessed by Jesus ben Sira who, in the book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus about 132 B.C., mentions the Law, Prophets, and Other Writings—the three-fold Hebrew Bible. This the Pharisee studies maintaining that if Israel will keep the Law perfectly, if one perfect Sabbath can be celebrated, God's deliverance will come. A party of extremists, the Zealots, continuously sword-girt, await an opportune moment to raise the battle cry against Rome.[101] Another group, despairing of any earthly way of settling the issues, withdraws into a sort of monastic order, the Essenes, devoted to studying, probably producing[102] more and more elaborate apocalyptic literature describing the coming Messiah, his advent, his kingdom, and the supernatural, miraculous glorification of Israel. In such a book, Enoch, the messiah is first called The Christ (En. 48:10), a pre-existent ruler and judge, a Son of Man to destroy sinners, purge Judaism, and set up an eternal kingdom of righteousness.[103] In most of this, the Holy Land is central, Jerusalem the capital, the Jew dominant, and the religion of Yahweh universal and supreme. The thwarted Hebrew becomes the supreme religionist.

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[99] This temple building was Herod's bid for Jewish favor. He had priests trained to do the masonry and carpentry, so as not to desecrate the temple precincts. He enlarged the area by a platform supported by great arches—the modern tourist's Stables of Solomon. Colonnades of marble, roofed with Lebanon cedar, formed the temple "porch" where rabbis and pupils congregated, and where Jews also spoke. Steps led to a higher level, for Jews only. At the top of the stairs was a warning notice, in Greek (discovered 1871; now in museum at Constantinople) threatening death to Gentile invaders. Safe within the forbidden area was the dark cubicle containing a stone slab in lieu of the ancient ark. This was the Most Holy place, or Holy of Holies. On Jerusalem, excavation and temple details see: Edersheim, *The Temple;* Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible;* Macalister, *Century of Excavation in Palestine; Palestine Exploration Fund, A Statement,* indices; Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations in Jerusalem;* Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem.*

[100] Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.,* II, Chap. XXII.

[101] Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.,* II, Chap. XXVIII.

[102] See Thompson, *Books which Influenced Our Lord.*

[103] See also Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man.*

Old and New.—Into this atmosphere comes a Galilean, from Nazareth. The north is liberal. The Carpenter is liberal. He quotes freely from Torah or from the latest, in his day modern, section of the Scriptures. He knows the canonical works; he knows the inspiring non-canonical literature. In a lone vigil in the wilderness the whole panorama of Hebraic religion and literature flashes before him.[104] His mind focuses on the prophetic appeal for religion as a way of living, the apocalyptic certainty of right's triumph, the assurance of Israel's serving mission to the world, the promise of God's friendly care. But there come also other Scriptures, with promises of reward for righteousness, daily bread, miraculous care, world power. This dynamic Personality can easily arouse Zealots, stir revolt, duplicate the Maccabean successes, and fairly drive Roman legions into the Mediterranean.

Instead, the almost-obscured thread of spiritual Judaism claims him. The Scripture promises more than bread. It is a wrong emphasis to be righteous in order to get bread; it is unwise to force God to cancel his laws to show favor; above all, it is a deluded nationalism that looks for a kingdom of materiality, with Davidic prince, Zion capital, angelic Messiah. The Nazareth rabbi wrestles with the ancestral faith, with his own Scriptures. These Scriptures do teach a kingdom, an inner kingdom of God, where He reigns, and where there is peace regardless of worldly vicissitudes. The Galilean decides. His messianic movement launches out, contradicting Pharisee, Sadducee, Zealot, and Essene. "Not by might, nor by power, but by God's spirit" is the new day to come.

Finis.—Subsequent bickering and treason brings Rome's wrath. In 70 A.D.[105] internal hatreds, starvation, and blood reduce the holy city to a shambles. The last semblance of national life is doomed. Jews are scattered everywhere; they are not even permitted in Jerusalem. In a blaze of horror the Old Testament period closes forever, but in its passing the fires of tragedy distill the precious metal of prophetic vision into a golden nugget, untarnished by hopeless vagaries. A great and inspiring literature remains; but an inspiring way of life is the greatest gain.

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[104] The Temptations of Jesus; Matt. 4:3-10.

[105] Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, II, Chap. XXXIII. Feuchtwanger, in his thrilling historical novel, *Josephus*, has given a vivid picture of the campaign of Titus and the

THINKING IT OVER

1. If you could ask God three questions, what would they be?
2. Who is the wisest person you know today?
3. Are ignorant people more contented?
4. Would God be kinder if he let us do as we please?
a. Are philosophers impractical?
b. Are cities a menace?
c. Is knowledge wisdom?
d. Is city life detrimental to home-making?

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5. What would you consider the most desirable characteristics of a life companion?
6. Is race prejudice a sin?
7. Would there have been fewer biblical problems if the priestly writers had never written or edited any part of the Bible?
8. Would there have been less discussion about the Bible if the apocalyptic books had been left out?
9. Is it honest to teach through fiction?
10. Do you enjoy reading the psalms?
11. Do you enjoy the hymns of your own religious group?
12. Do you believe or accept all the ideas in your hymnal?
e. Can race antipathies ever be conquered?
f. Do you think God favors particular races?
g. Why do some of the ideas in your hymnal vary so much from your own?

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13. Can a movement live that is built around a single great leader?
14. Should an army pray for victory?
15. Can a person be righteous in the present world?
h. Does revolt accomplish its purpose?
i. Why do ideas or plans tend to crystallize in group movements?

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final destruction of Jerusalem. See Feuchtwanger, Lion, *Josephus*, Viking Press, N. Y., 1932.

j. Would it be better if there were no political or religious organizations?
k. Do you think it possible or desirable to develop a common race?
l. What do you believe is the best way to bring about the kind of world that you would like to see?
m. What part do you think you could have in any such program?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Religious ideas in the wisdom literature. (Bewer, LOT, XIX; Eiselen, POSW, III; Fowler, OGHR; SWLOT; Kent, MTJ, pp. 166 ff.; STPJ; WMAIP; Wild, EHB, pp. 246-249.)
2. Evidences of Greek life in the book of Proverbs. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 295 ff.; Eiselen, POSW, pp. 109, 225-227; Kent, MTJ, pp. 155 ff.; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, XIII; Smith, OTH, p. 417.)
3. Ben Sira and his book. (Booth, BBT, pp. 60, 100, 109; Charles, APOT; Fuller in Bib. Wld., q.v.; Kent, GCOT, p. 274; MTJ, pp. 177 ff.; Moehlman, UB, p. 166; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, pp. 138 ff., 157; Wild, LGB, p. 217.)
4. The pseudepigraphic writings. (See Booth, Charles, Kent, above; and Margolis, HSIM; encyclopedic sources.)
5. The Septuagint. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, pp. 301-303; Geden, IHB; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, p. 201; Smith, OTH, p. 476; Thackeray, in Schweich Lectures, 1920; Willett, BTC; OB, index; Con. Bib. Enc., p. 29; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps, pp. 16, 132.)

a. The Alexandrian Philosophers. (Booth, BB, pp. 130 ff.; BBT, pp. 53-57; Breasted, AT, pp. 466 ff.; Thorndike, SHC; Weber, HP, pp. 160 ff.; Wells, OH, index; Baldwin Dic. of Phil. and Psychol.; encyclopedic sources.)
b. Stoicism and Hokmah teachings. (See No. 2 under Instructions; Booth, BBT, p. 115; Breasted, AT, pp. 478 ff.; Durant, SP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, p. 182; Weber, HP, index; Wells, OH, pp. 304, 307, 510.)
c. Heraclitus and his followers. (See Durant, Weber, Wells, indexes and encyclopedic sources; Weerts, *Heraklit und Heraklitur.*)
d. Modern philosophical problems that parallel the problems of the wisdom teachers. (Coffin, PIM; Flewelling, CDD; Hunter, SP; Knopf, SFL; Krutch, MT; Macintosh et al., RR; Rashdall, TGE; Whitehead, AI.)
e. The problem of evil and suffering in present-day philosophies. (Flewelling, CDD; Peake, PSOT.)
f. The contributions of Hellenism to Jewish thinking. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXVIII; Bentwich, H; Booth, BBT, pp. 9, 53 ff.; Kent, MTJ; Mahaffey, PHAE; Mathews, HNTTP; McCown, GSG, index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, XIII; Smith, OTH, p. 443.)

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6. Modern orthodox Jewish wedding customs.
7. The Jewish interpretations of the Song of Songs. (Driver, ILOT, p. 450; Eiselen, POSW, p. 166; Ginsberg, SOS; Kent, SHPOT, IV; Trattner, UBB, p. 208.)
g. The chief causes of broken homes in the local community. (See Bogardus, ISS, V; Rauschenbusch, CSC, p. 271.)

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8. The Chronicler as a propagandist. (Dinsmore, EBL, p. 173; Kent, GCOT, p. 75; IHBN, p. 22; MTJ, p. 172; McFadyen, MPPH, pp. 270-285; Trattner, UBB, pp. 196 ff.)
h. The use of the priestly writings of the Old Testament in present-day biblical teaching. (Refer to back numbers of church school quarterlies and helps.)

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9. The cult of emperor-worship. (Cobern, RAD, pp. 127, 601; Deissmann, LAE, index, pp. 338 ff.; Porter, MAW, p. 88; Iverach in Enc. Rel. and Ethics, q.v.; Smith, OTH, p. 453; Wells, OH, pp. 325-326.)
10. Egypt under the Ptolemies. (Bailey and Kent, MTJ, XXVII; Bevan, PD; Kent, MTJ, pp. 146 ff.; Mahaffey, EP; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, XIV.)
11. A comparison of the books of Daniel and Enoch. (Booth, BBT, index; Charles, APOT; CD; McFadyen, MAW, pp. 299 ff.)
i. Assyrian history and Jonah compared. (Olmstead, HA; Rogers, HBA.)
j. The use of humor in the Old Testament. (Richman, JH; LJL; Wild, LGB.)

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12. Psalms of other ancient nations. (Barton, AB, XXIII; Holliday, DL, index; Kent, GCOT, pp. 241-243; SHPOT, pp. 37-39; Radau, SBH; Rogers, CPOT, pp. 139 ff.)
k. The history of an American hymn book.

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13. The Sadducee and Rome. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 322; Booth, BBT, index; Erdmans in the Expositor, 1914; Mathews, HNTTP, index; McCówn, GSG, pp. 315 ff. and index; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index; Segal in the Expositor, 1917; Wild, EHP, index; Con. Bib. Enc.; Hastings, DB; Int'l Stand. Bib. Enc.; Oxford Helps, p. 208.)
14. Constructive elements in Phariseeism. (See above indexes; Finkelstein in Harv. Theol. Rev. q.v.; Montefiore, SG, I, c; Streane, AM; Oxford Helps, p. 207.)
15. The Herods. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, XXX; Mathews, HNTTP, pp. 103-188; Oesterley and Robinson, HI, vol. II, index and p. 393; Wild, LGB, index; Con. Bib. Enc., p. 212 and index; Hastings, DB; Oxford Helps.)

l. Archaeological evidences of the Maccabean period. (Barton, AB, pp. 180-182, 219 ff.; Macalister, CEP, pp. 193-195.)
m. The Essenic colony at Engedi. (Bailey & Kent, HHC; Kent, BGH, p. 243; Montefiore, SG, I, cx; Thomson, BIL; Oxford Helps, p. 209.)

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16. The place of the Old Testament in modern religion. (Badè, OTLT; Bevan and Singer, LI, pp. 407 ff.; Dinsmore, EBL, III, VI-VII; Dobschutz, IBC; Holliday, DL, VI.)
n. Jewish contributions to civilization. (Bailey and Kent, HHC, p. 354; Bevan and Singer, LI, pp. 283-505; Jacobs, JCC; Montefiore, RLGT; Ruppin, JT; Spargo, JAI.)

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Books starred (*) are of first importance. The abbreviation for the book, used throughout the text, follows the title, thus:
Albright APB for Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible.

Albright,* *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (APB)
Alexander, *Myths of Old Races* (MOR)
Atkins, *Procession of the Gods* (PG)
Autran, *Sumerien et Indo-Europeen* (SIE)
Bacon,* *Genesis of Genesis* (GG)
Badè,* *Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh* (ETN)
Badè,* *Old Testament in the Light of Today* (OTLT)
Badè, *Some Tombs of Tell en-Nasbeh* (STTN)
Baedecker,* *Palestine and Syria* (PS)
Baikie, *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus Hunting* (EPPH)
Baikie, *Life of the Ancient East* (LAE)
Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete* (SKC)
Baikie, *Story of the Pharaohs* (SP)
Baikie,* *The Amarna Age* (AA)
Bailey and Kent,* *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth* (HHC)
Baldwin,* *The Prophets* (P)
Ball, *Light from the East* (LE)
Bartlett, *Psychology and Primitive Culture* (PPC)
Barton,* *Archaeology and the Bible* (AB)
Barton, *Book of Ecclesiastes* (International Critical Commentary) (BE)
Barton,* *History of the Hebrew People* (HHP)
Barton, *Religion of Israel* (RI)
Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (RISA)
Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins* (SSO)
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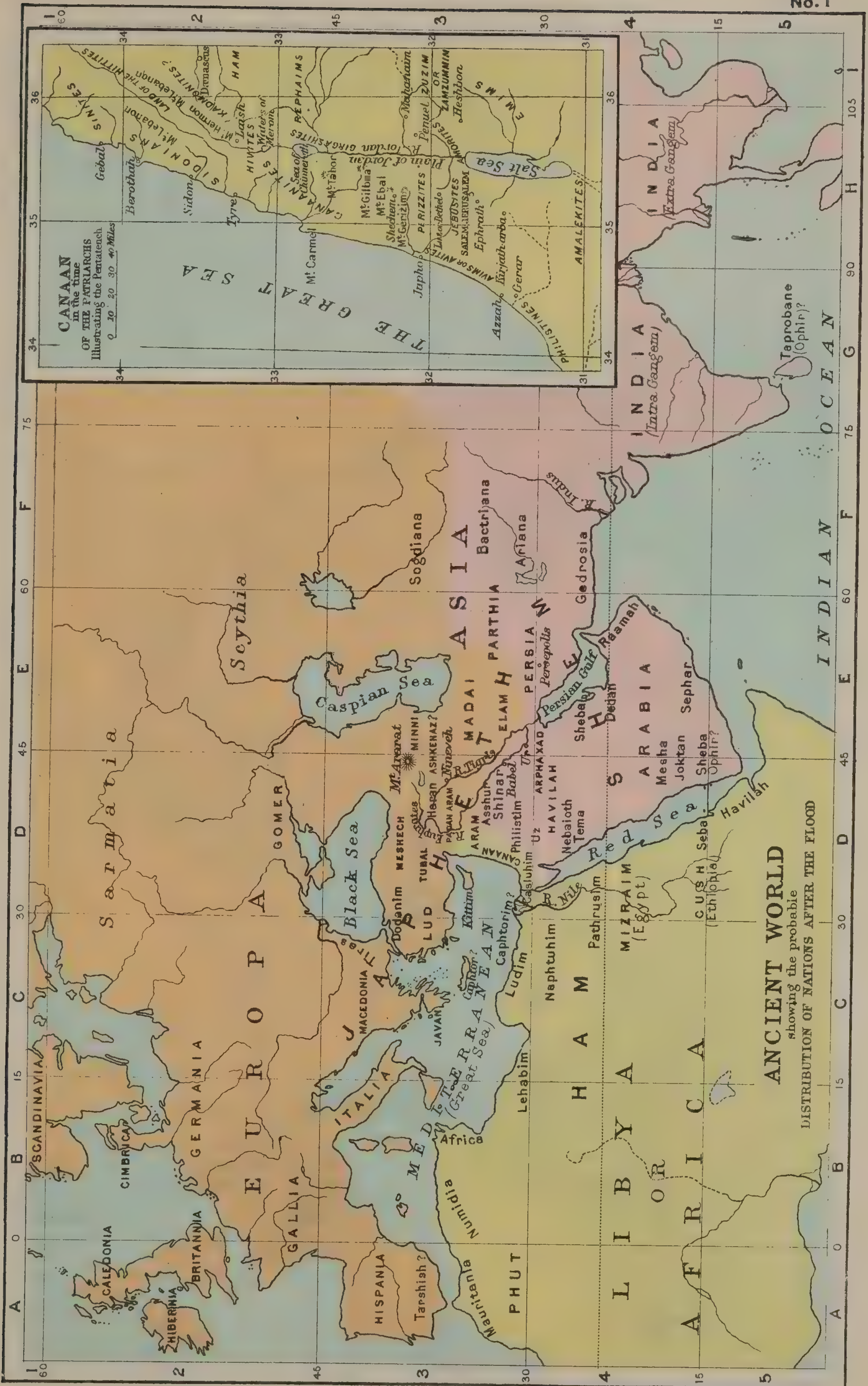
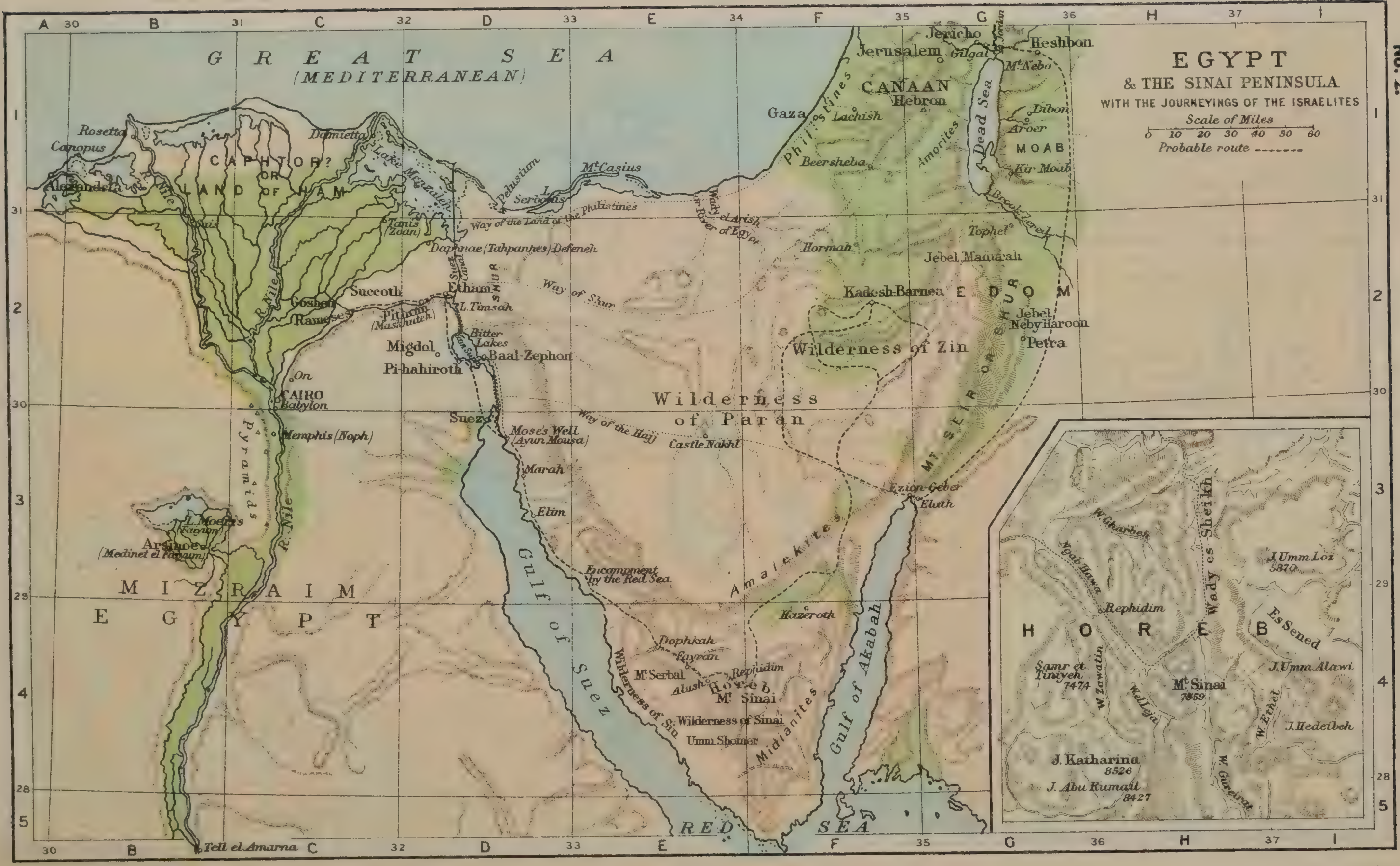
No. 1



ANCIENT WORLD
showing the probable
DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONS AFTER THE FLOOD

CANAAN
in the time
OF THE PATRIARCHS
Illustrating the Pentateuch

No. 2.

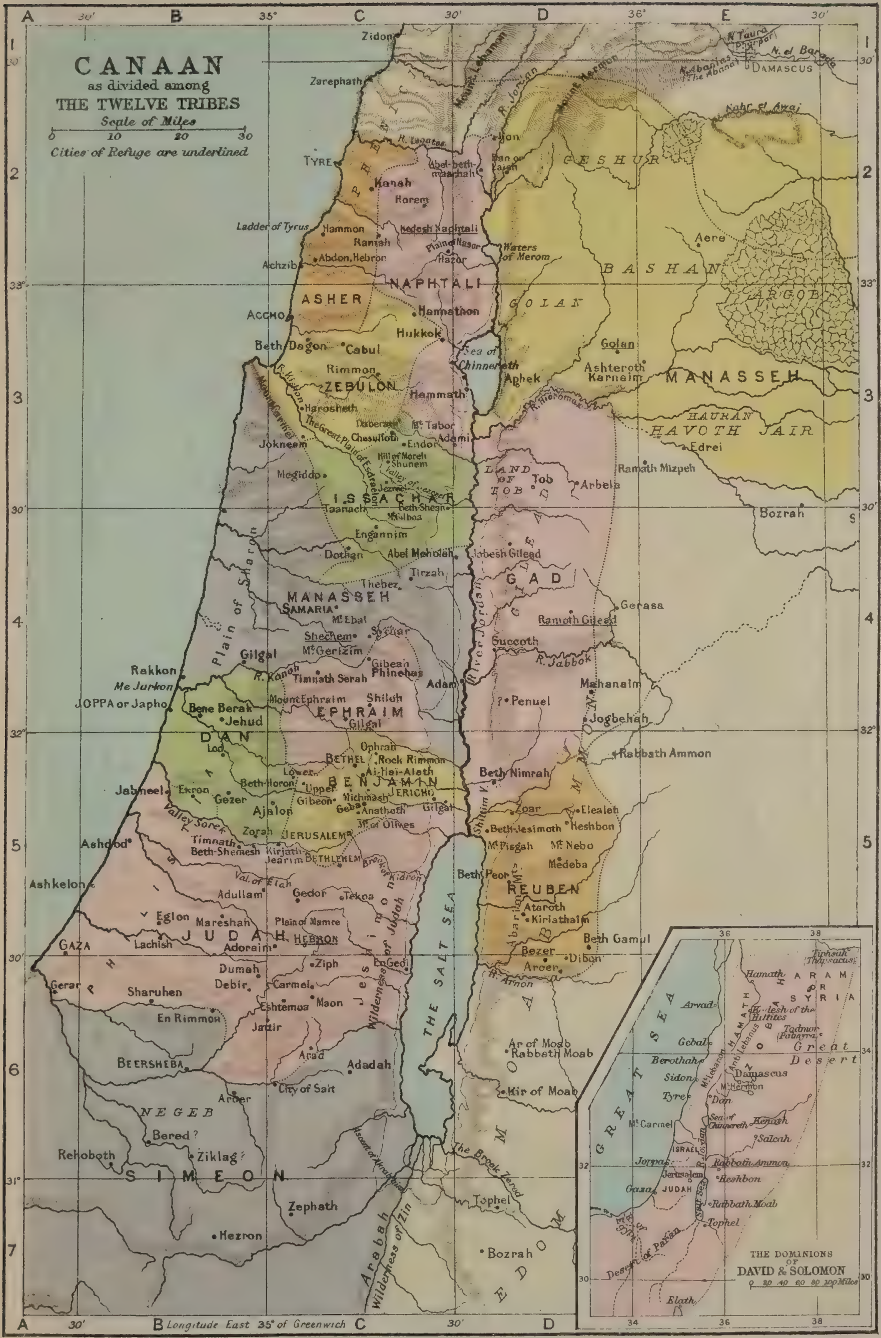


EGYPT
& THE SINAI PENINSULA
WITH THE JOURNEYINGS OF THE ISRAELITES

Scale of Miles

Probable route -------

No. 3.

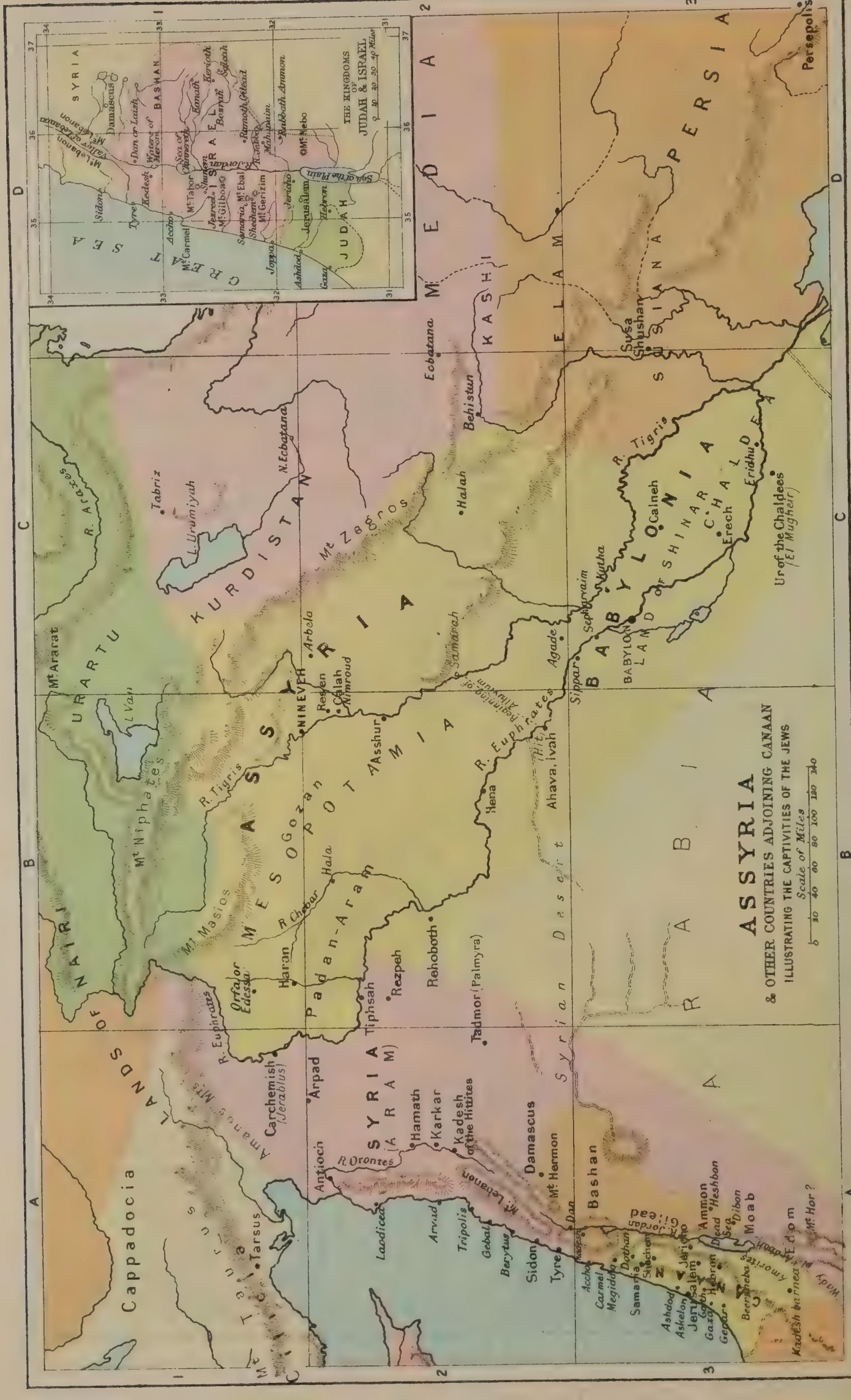


CANAAN
as divided among
THE TWELVE TRIBES

Scale of Miles

Cities of Refuge are underlined

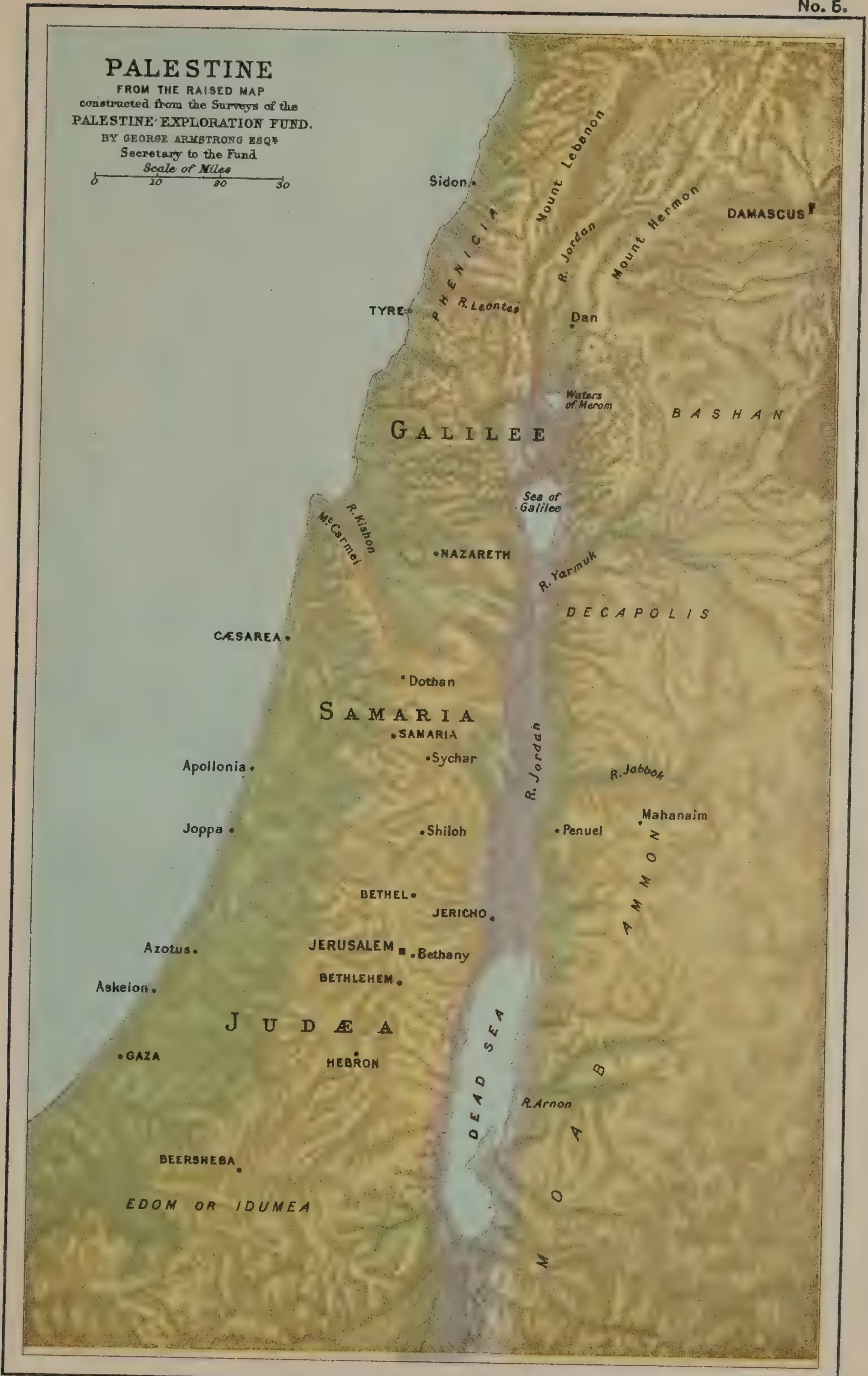
No. 4.



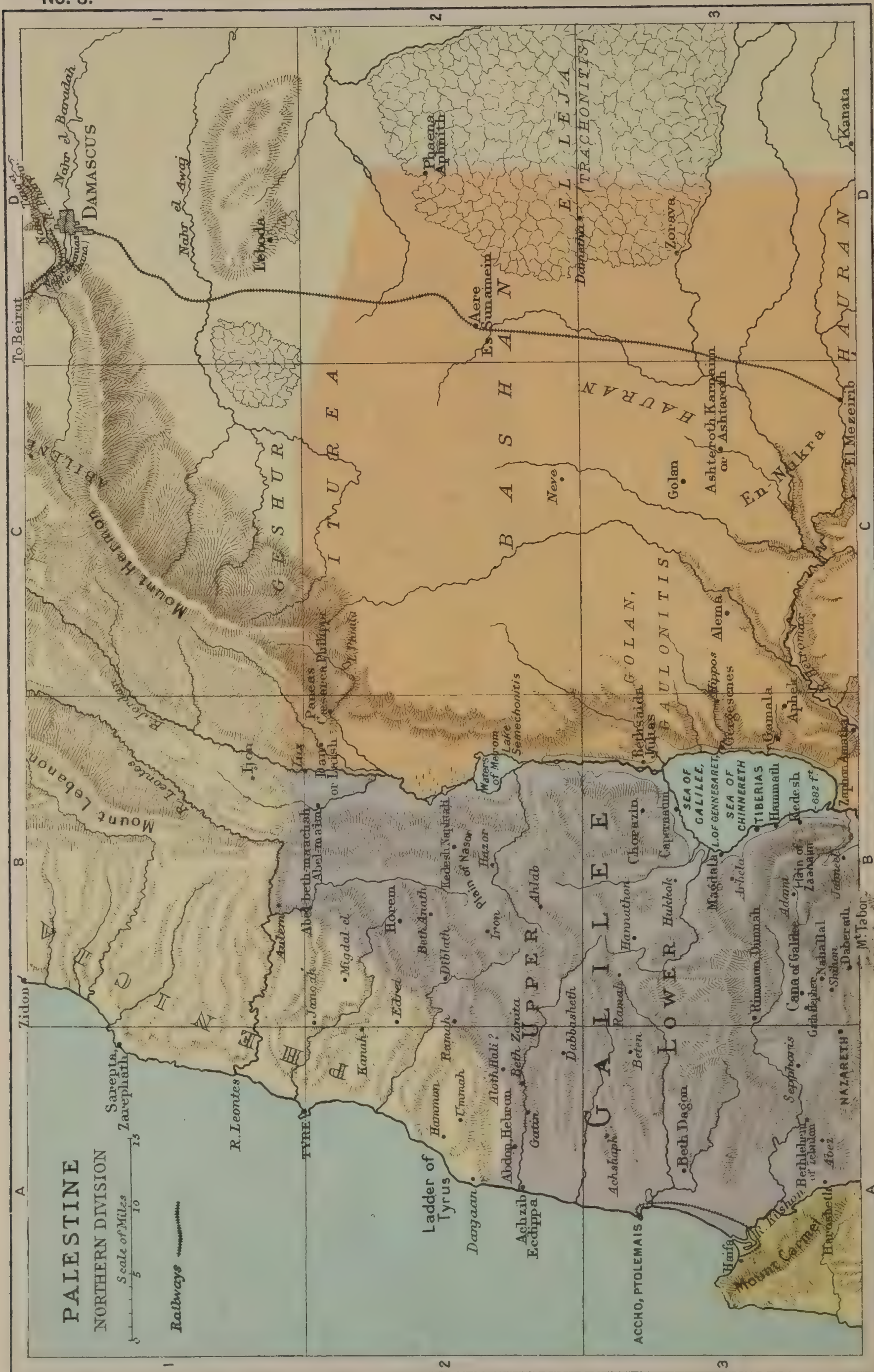
ASSYRIA

& OTHER COUNTRIES ADJOINING CANAAN ILLUSTRATING THE CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS

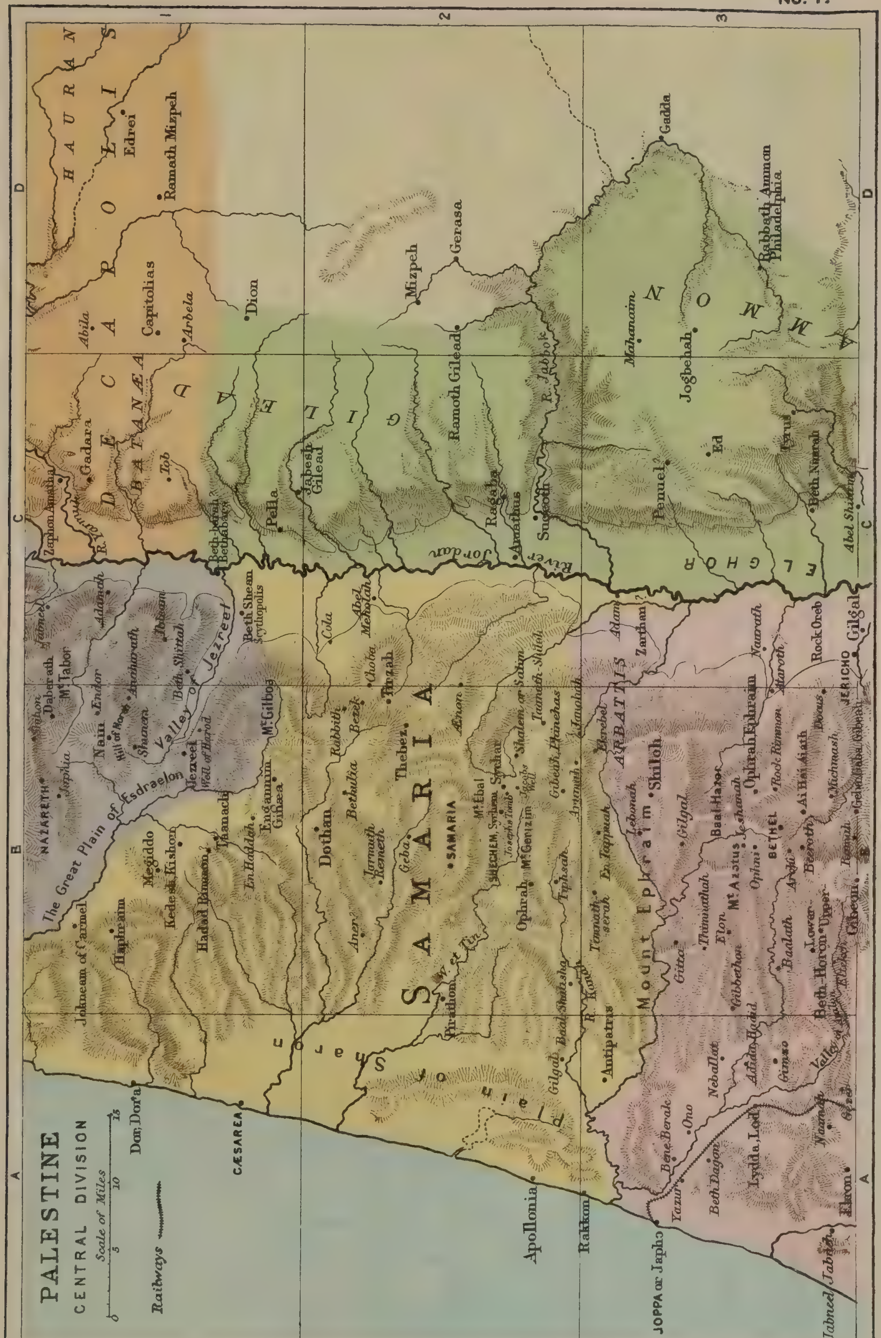
No. 5.


PALESTINE
FROM THE RAISED MAP
constructed from the Surveys of the
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.
BY GEORGE ARMSTRONG ESQR.
Secretary to the Fund
Scale of Miles
0
10
20
30
Sidon
Mount Lebanon
PHENICIA
Mount Hermon
DAMASCUS
R. Jordan
TYRE
R. Leontes
Dan
Waters of Merom
BASHAN
GALILEE
Sea of Galilee
R. Kishon
Mt. Carmel
NAZARETH
R. Yarmuk
DECAPOLIS
CÆSAREA
Dothan
SAMARIA
SAMARIA
Sychar
Apollonia
R. Jordan
R. Jabbok
Mahanaim
Joppa
Shiloh
Penuel
AMMON
BETHEL
JERICHO
Azotus
JERUSALEM
Bethany
BETHLEHEM
Askelon
JUDÆA
DEAD SEA
GAZA
HEBRON
R. Arnon
MOAB
BEERSHEBA
EDOM OR IDUMEA

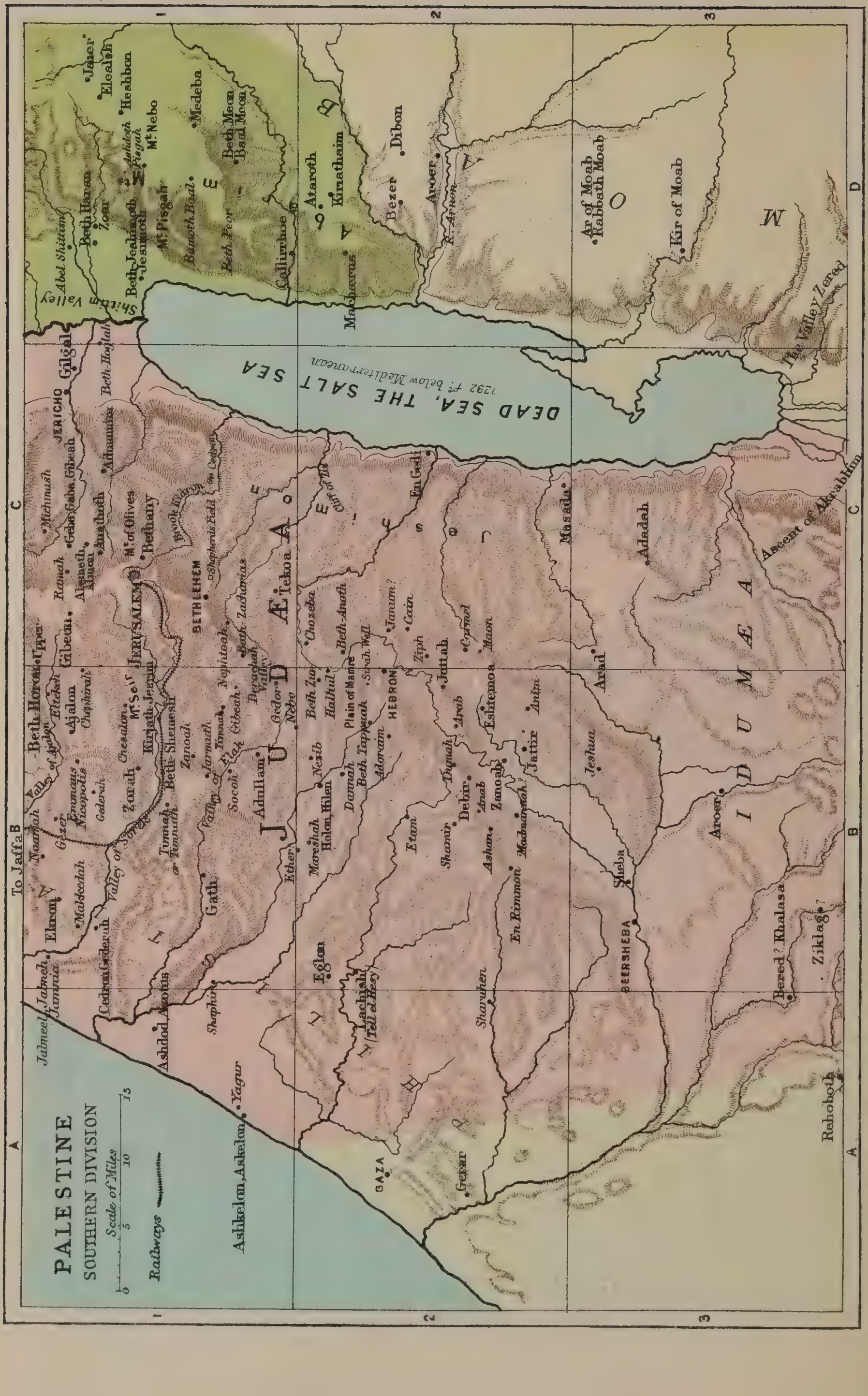
No. 6.

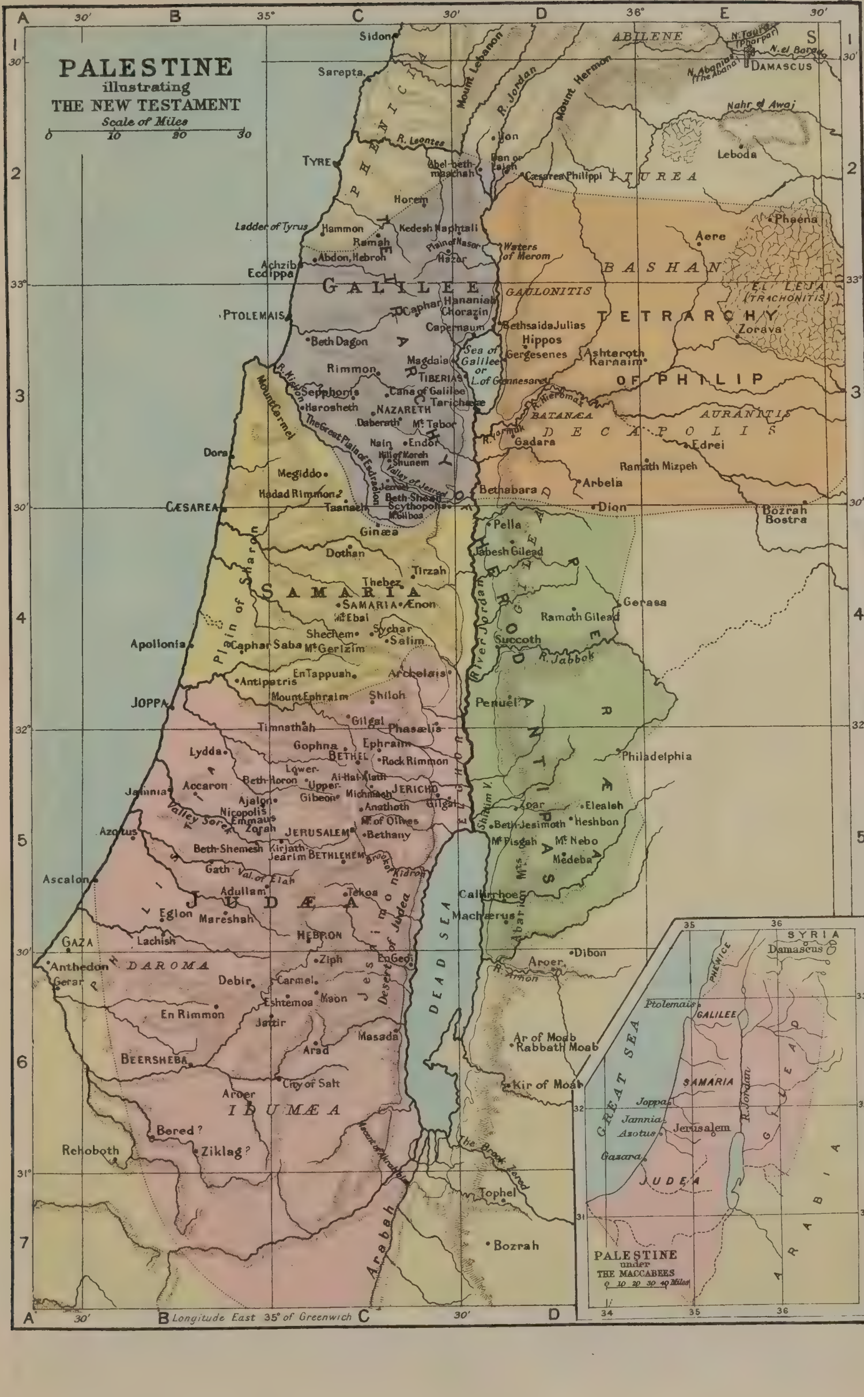

PALESTINE
NORTHERN DIVISION
Scale of Miles
5
0
5
10
15
Railways
A
B
C
D
1
2
3
DAMASCUS
Nahr el Baradah
Nahr el Awaj
To Beirut
Lebonah
Mount Hermon
ABILENE
Mount Lebanon
R. Leontes
R. Jordan
PHOENICIA
Zidon
Sarepta, Zarephath
TYRE
Ladder of Tyrus
Dargaan
Achzib, Ecdippa
ACCHO, PTOLEMAIS
Haifa
Mount Carmel
R. Kishon
Harosheth
GESHUR
ITUREA
BASHAN
TRACHONITIS
EL LEJA
Phaena
Aphnith
Damatha
Aere
Es Sunamein
Zorava
Kanata
HAURAN
El Mezeirib
Ashteroth Karnaim
or Ashtaroth
Golan
Neve
En-Nukra
GOLAN,
GAULONITIS
Alema
Hippos
Gergesenes
Gamala
Aphek
Hieromax
Zaphon Amathus
Paneas
Caesarea Philippi
Dan or Laish
Lake Phiala
Ijon
Abel-beth-maachah
Abel-maim
Waters of Merom
Lake Semechonitis
Bethsaida Julias
SEA OF GALILEE,
L. OF GENNESARET,
SEA OF CHINNERETH
682 ft.
TIBERIAS
Hammath
Kedesh
Capernaum
Chorazin
Magdala
Arbela
GALILEE
UPPER
LOWER
Kedesh Naphtali
Hazor
Plain of Nasor
Ahlab
Iron
Horem
Beth Anath
Diblath
Migdal-el
Edrei
Janoah
Kanah
Ramah
Ummah
Hammon
Alammelech
Beth Zamita
Abdon, Hebron
Gatin
Achshaph
Dabbasheth
Ramah
Betan
Hannathon
Hukkok
Beth Dagon
Rimmon, Dimnah
Cana of Galilee
Gath Hepher
Sepphoris
NAZARETH
Nahallal
Shihon
Daberath
Mt. Tabor
Adami
Plain of Zaanaim
Jabneel
Bethlehem of Zebulon
Abez

No. 7.

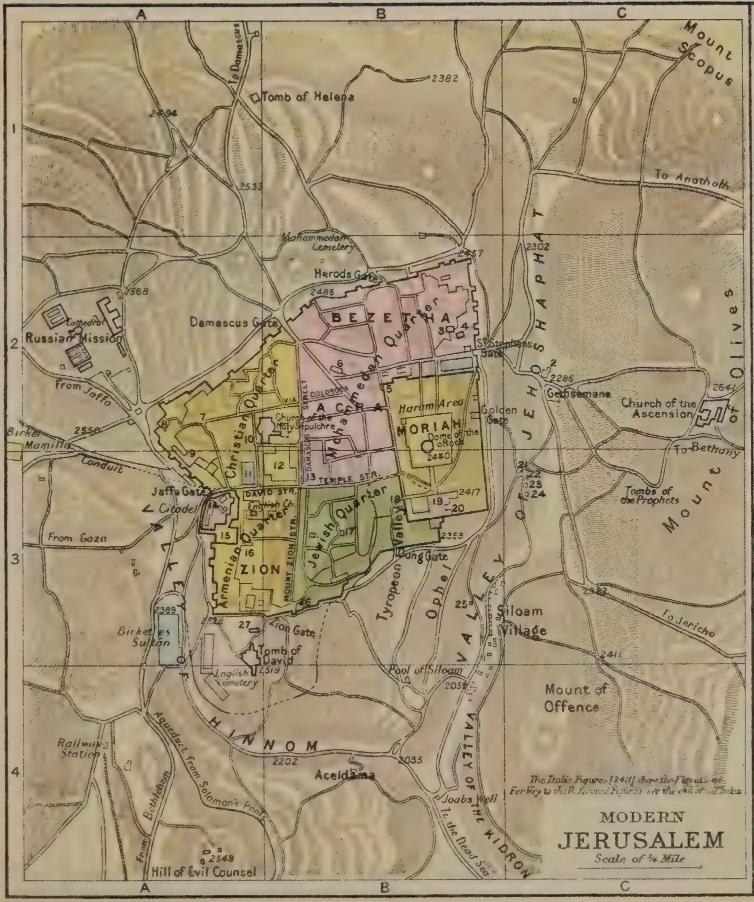

PALESTINE
CENTRAL DIVISION
Scale of Miles
0
5
10
15
Railways
1
2
3
A
B
C
D
HAURAN
DECAPOLIS
BATANÆA
GALAAD
GILEAD
AMMON
SAMARIA
ACRABATTIS
Mount Ephraim
Sharon
Philistia
EL GHOR
Edrei
Ramoth Mizpeh
Capitolias
Arbela
Abila
Gadara
Tob
Zaphon Amatha
R. Yarmuk
Dion
Gerasa
Mizpeh
Ramoth Gilead
Jabesh Gilead
Pella
Beth-barah Bethabara
Ragaba
Amathus
Succoth
Penuel?
Ed
Mahanaim
Jogbehah
Gadda
Rabbath Ammon Philadelphia
Tyrus
Beth Nimrah
Abel Shittim
R. Jabbok
River Jordan
Beth Shean Scythopolis
Abel Meholah
Cola
Choba
Tirzah
Thebez
Bezek
Rabbith
Bethulia
Ænon
Adam
Zarthan?
Nazareth
Japhia
Chisloth
Daberath
Mt Tabor
Endor
Nain
Hill of Moreh
Shunem
Anaharath
Jarmuth
Adamah
Beth Shittah
Jezreel
Well of Harod
Valley of Jezreel
The Great Plain of Esdraelon
Mt Gilboa
Engannim Ginæa
Taanach
Megiddo
En Haddah
Kedesh Kishon
Hadad Rimmon
Dothan
Jarmuth Remeth
Geba
SAMARIA
Mt Ebal
Sychar
Shechem Sychem
Joseph's Tomb
Jacob's Well
Mt Gerizim
Shalem or Salem
Taanath Shiloh
Gibeah Phinehas
Janohah
Kerebel
Arumah
Ophrah
Tiphsah
En Tappuah
Lebonah
Shiloh
Gilgal
Timnath-serah
Thimnathah
Baal Hazor
Ophrah Ephraim
Ephraim
Naarath
Rock Oreb
Gilgal
JERICHO
Rock Rimmon
Ai Hai Aiath
Doras
Michmash
Geba Gibeah
Bethel
Eleshanah
Ophni
Archi
Beeroth
Ramah
Gibeon
Mt Azotus
Eton
Gibbethon
Baalath
Upper
Lower
Beth-Horon
Eleloa
Aner
Pirathon
Wady esh Shair
Jokneam of Carmel
Haphraim
Dor, Dora
CÆSAREA
Apollonia
Gilgal
Baal Shalisha
R. Kanah
Antipatris
Gitta
Rakkon
Bene Berak
Ono
Neballat
Adida Hadid
Gimzo
Valley of Ajalon
Lydda, Lod
Beth Dagon
Yazur
JOPPA or Japho
Ekron
Naamah
Gezer
Jabneel, Jabneh

No. 8.


PALESTINE
SOUTHERN DIVISION
Scale of Miles
0
5
10
15
Railways
To Jaffa
DEAD SEA, THE SALT SEA
1292 ft. below Mediterranean
JUDÆA
IDUMÆA
MOAB
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Jericho
Gilgal
Gibeon
Ramah
Anathoth
Bethany
Mt. of Olives
Michmash
Beth-Horon
Ajalon
Emmaus Nicopolis
Gezer
Ekron
Jabneh Jamnia
Ashdod Azotus
Ashkelon, Askelon
Gaza
Gerar
Gath
Lachish
Tell el Hesy
Eglon
Mareshah
Adullam
Socoh
Tekoa
Engedi
Masada
Carmel
Maon
Ziph
Juttah
Debir
Beersheba
Arad
Aroer
Ziklag
Khalasa
Rehoboth
Shaphir
Sharuhen
En Rimmon
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Pisgah
Medeba
Heshbon
Elealeh
Jazer
Beth Jeshimoth
Abel Shittim
Shittim Valley
Callirrhoe
Machaerus
Ataroth
Kiriathaim
Dibon
Bezer
Aroer
R. Arnon
Ar of Moab Rabbath Moab
Kir of Moab
The Valley Zered
Ascent of Akrabbim
Zoar
Beth Haran
Beth-Peor
Bamoth Baal
Beth Meon Baal Meon
A
B
C
D
1
2
3

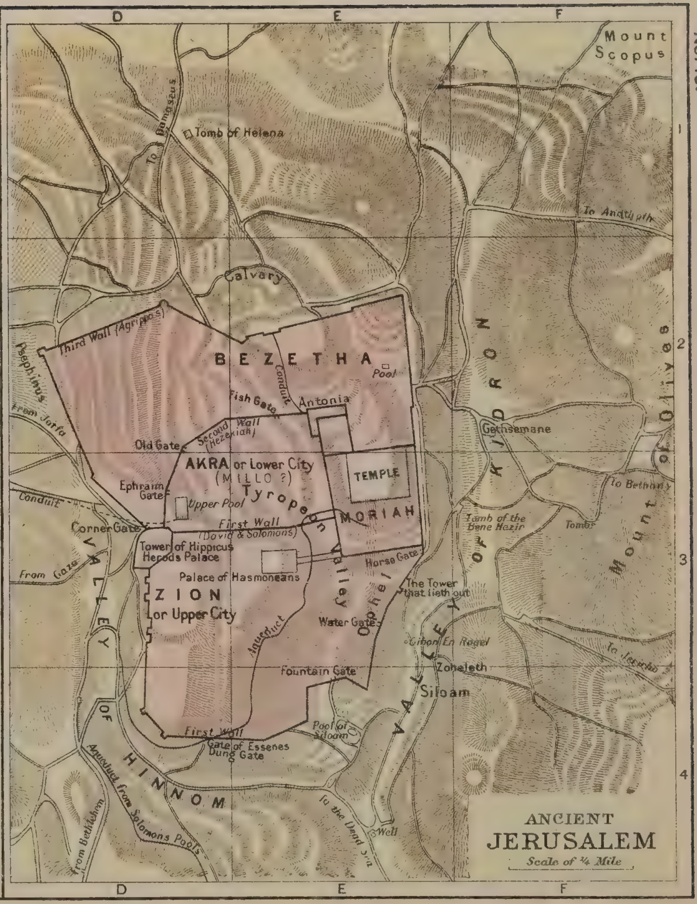

PALESTINE
illustrating
THE NEW TESTAMENT
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30
A B C D E
30' 35° 30' 36° 30'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
33° 30' 32° 30' 31°
Longitude East 35° of Greenwich
Sidon
Sarepta
PHŒNICIA
Mount Lebanon
R. Jordan
Mount Hermon
ABILENE
N. Taura
Pharpar
N. el Barada
N. Abanias
The Abana
DAMASCUS
Nahr el Awaj
Leboda
R. Leontes
TYRE
Dan
Abel-beth-maachah
Dan or Laish
Cæsarea Philippi
ITUREA
Horem
Ladder of Tyrus
Hammon
Ramah
Kedesh Naphtali
Plain of Nasor
Hazor
Waters of Merom
Abdon, Hebron
Achzib
Ecdippa
Aere
Phaena
BASHAN
GALILEE
GAULONITIS
EL LEJA
(TRACHONITIS)
Caphar Hanania
Chorazin
PTOLEMAIS
TETRARCHY
Capernaum
Bethsaida Julias
Zorava
Beth Dagon
Hippos
Sea of Galilee or L. of Gennesaret
Gergesenes
Ashtaroth Karnaim
OF PHILIP
Magdala
Rimmon
TIBERIAS
R. Kishon
Mount Carmel
Sepphoris
Cana of Galilee
Tarichææ
R. Hieromax
Harosheth
NAZARETH
BATANÆA
AURANITIS
Daberath
Mt. Tabor
The Great Plain of Esdraelon
R. Yarmuk
DECAPOLIS
Dora
Nain
Endor
Gadara
Edrei
Hill of Moreh
Shunem
Megiddo
Valley of Jezreel
Ramath Mizpeh
Jezreel
Arbela
Hadad Rimmon?
Beth-Shean
Scythopolis
Bethabara
CÆSAREA
Taanach
Mt. Gilboa
Dion
Bozrah
Bostra
Pella
Ginæa
Jabesh Gilead
Dothan
Tirzah
Plain of Sharon
Thebez
SAMARIA
Ænon
Gerasa
Mt. Ebal
Ramoth Gilead
Sychar
Shechem
Salim
Apollonia
Caphar Saba
Mt. Gerizim
Succoth
R. Jabbok
En Tappuah
Archelais
Antipatris
Mount Ephraim
Shiloh
Penuel
JOPPA
Gilgal
Phasaelis
Timnathah
HEROD ANTIPAS
PERÆA
Ephraim
Gophna
Philadelphia
BETHEL
Rock Rimmon
Lydda
Lower
Beth Horon
Upper
Ai
Hai
Michmash
Jamnia
Accaron
Ajalon
Gibeon
Anathoth
JERICHO
Gilgal
Elealeh
Nicopolis
Emmaus
Zorah
Mt. of Olives
Zoar
Heshbon
Shittim V.
Beth Jesimoth
Valley Sorek
JERUSALEM
Bethany
Azotus
Mt. Pisgah
Mt. Nebo
Beth Shemesh
Kirjath Jearim
BETHLEHEM
Medeba
Brook Kidron
Mts. Abarim
Gath
Val. of Elah
Ascalon
Tekoa
Adullam
JUDÆA
Wilderness of Judea
Desert of Judea
Callirrhoe
Eglon
Mareshah
Machaerus
PHILISTIA
HEBRON
GAZA
Lachish
Dibon
Ziph
DEAD SEA
Anthedon
DAROMA
En Gedi
Aroer
Gerar
Debir
Carmel
R. Arnon
Eshtemoa
Maon
En Rimmon
Jattir
Masada
Ar of Moab
Rabbath Moab
Arad
BEERSHEBA
City of Salt
Kir of Moab
Aroer
IDUMÆA
Ascent of Akrabbim
Bered?
Ziklag?
The Brook Zered
Rehoboth
Tophel
Arabah
Bozrah
PALESTINE
under
THE MACCABEES
0 10 20 30 40 Miles
34 35 36
33 32 31
SYRIA
Damascus
PHŒNICE
Ptolemais
GALILEE
GREAT SEA
SAMARIA
R. Jordan
GILEAD
Joppa
Jamnia
Azotus
Jerusalem
Gazara
JUDEA
ARABIA

No. 10.



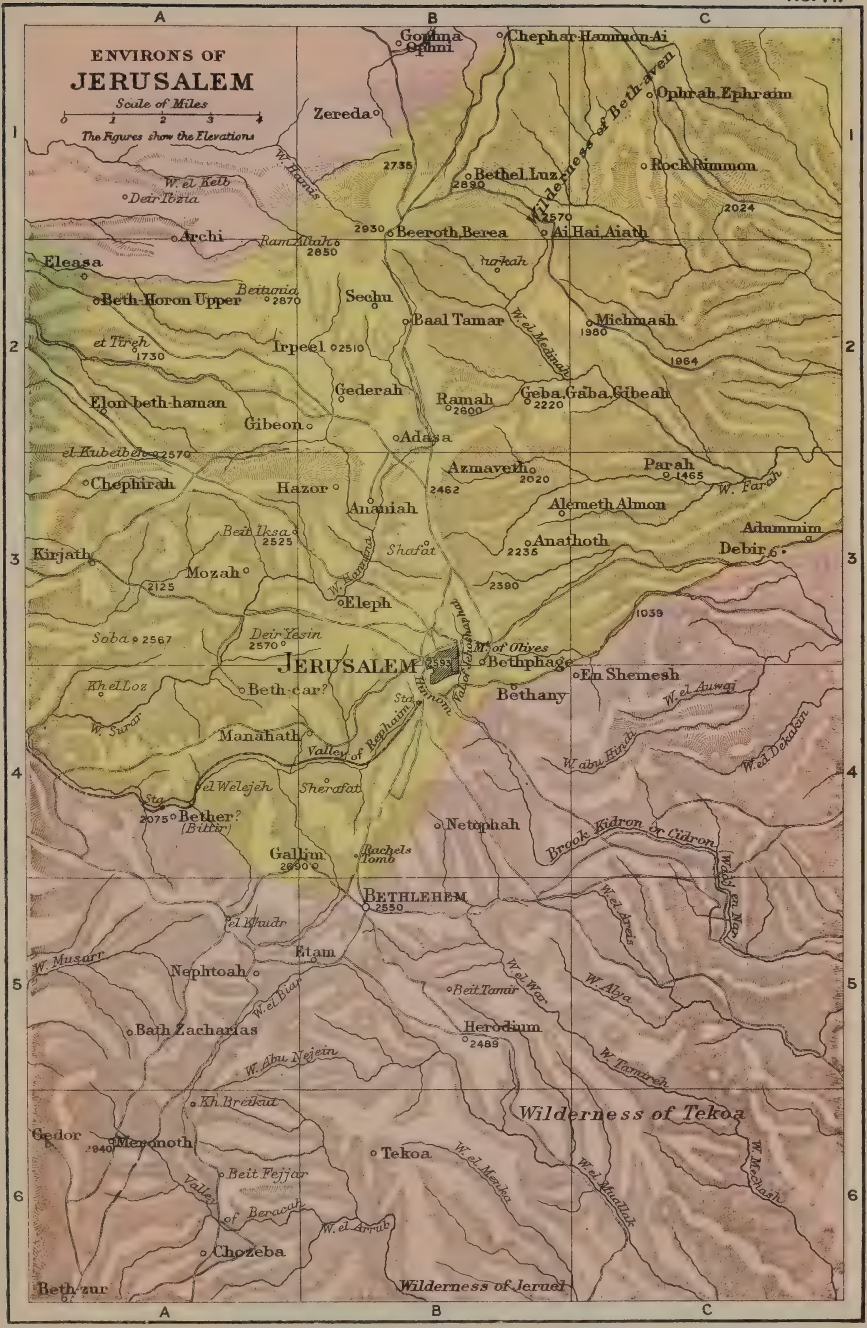
The Italic Figures (2417) show the Elevations.
For Key to the Reference Figures see the end of the Index.

MODERN
JERUSALEM
Scale of ¼ Mile

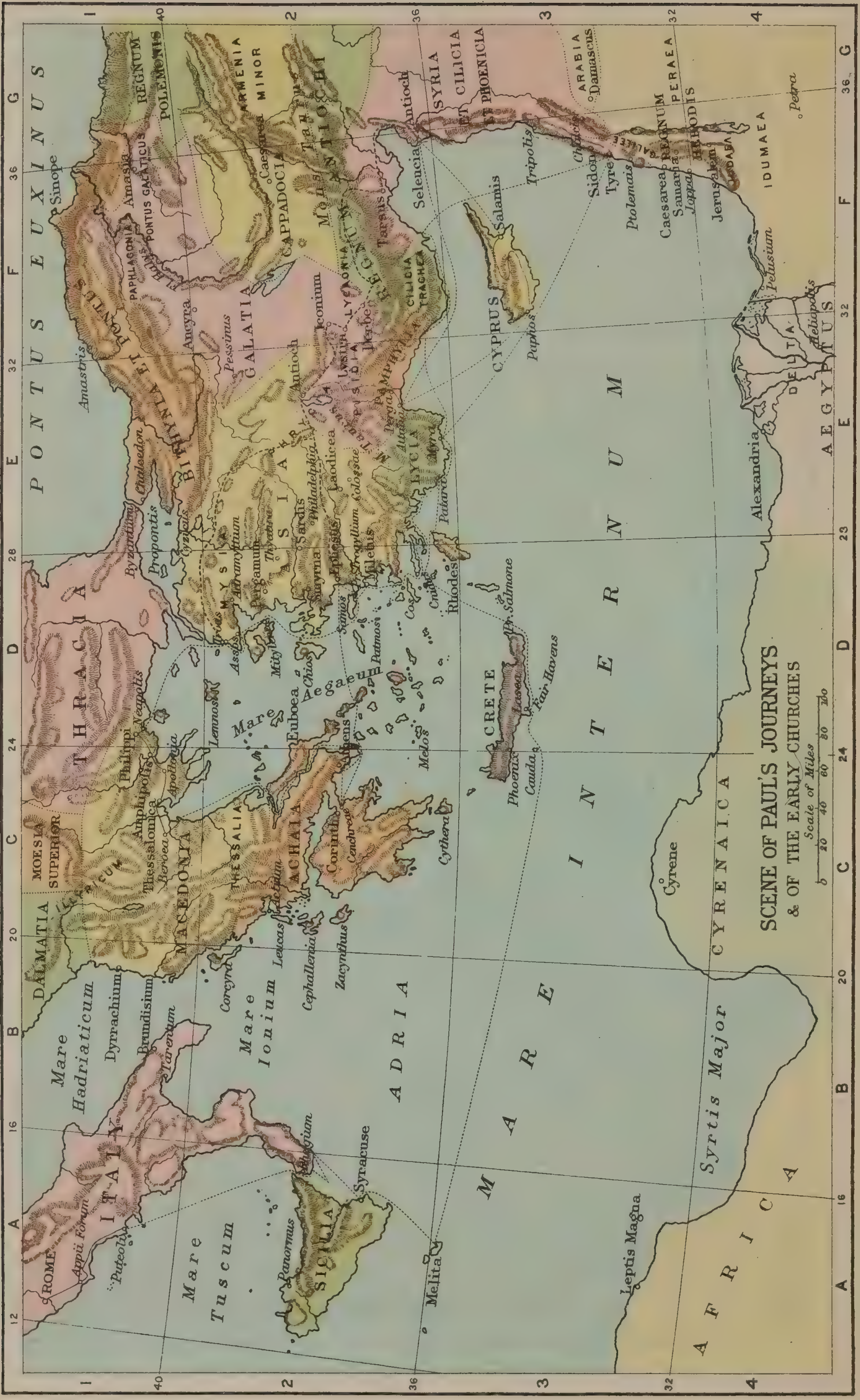


ANCIENT
JERUSALEM
Scale of ¼ Mile

No. 11.


ENVIRONS OF
JERUSALEM
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4
The Figures show the Elevations
A
B
C
1
2
3
4
5
6
Gophna
Ophni
Chephar-Hammon-Ai
Wilderness of Beth-aven
Ophrah Ephraim
Zereda
W. Haris
2735
Bethel Luz
2890
Rock Rimmon
W. el Kelb
Deir Ibzia
2570
2024
2930
Beeroth Berea
Ai Hai Aiath
Archi
Ram Allah
2850
Eleasa
Burkah
Beitunia
Beth-Horon Upper
2870
Sechu
Baal Tamar
W. el Medinah
Michmash
1980
et Tireh
1730
Irpeel
2510
1964
Elon beth-haman
Gederah
Ramah
2600
Geba Gaba Gibeah
2220
Gibeon
Adasa
el Kubeibeh
2570
Azmaveth
2020
Parah
1465
W. Farah
Chephirah
Hazor
2462
Ananiah
Alemeth Almon
Adummim
Beit Iksa
2525
Shafat
Anathoth
2235
Debir
Kirjath
Mozah
2125
W. Hanina
2390
Eleph
1039
Soba
2567
Deir Yesin
2570
Valley of Jehoshaphat
M. of Olives
JERUSALEM
2593
Bethphage
En Shemesh
Kh. el Loz
Beth-car?
Bethany
Sta.
Hinnom
Valley of Rephaim
W. el Auwaj
W. Surar
Manahath
W. abu Hindi
W. ed Dekakin
el Welejeh
Sherafat
Sta.
2075
Bether?
(Bittir)
Netophah
Brook Kidron or Cidron
Wady en Nar
Gallim
2690
Rachels Tomb
BETHLEHEM
2550
W. el Areis
el Khudr
Etam
W. Musarr
Nephtoah
W. el War
W. Alya
W. el Biar
Beit Tamir
Bath Zacharias
Herodium
2489
W. Abu Nejein
W. Tamireh
Kh. Breikut
Wilderness of Tekoa
Gedor
2940
Maronoth
Tekoa
W. el Menka
W. Mechash
Beit Fejjar
W. el Muallak
Valley of Beracah
W. el Arrub
Chozeba
Beth-zur
Wilderness of Jeruel

No. 12.



SCENE OF PAUL'S JOURNEYS & OF THE EARLY CHURCHES

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JY 6 '48			
FE 15 '55			

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The Old Testament speaks,

Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library

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